THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Pakistan History Conference

(SIXTEENTH SESSION)

HELD AT

KARACHI

under the auspices of the

Pakistan Historical Society

Compiled by

SYED MOINUL HAQ

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PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI 5
1968

Pakistan Historical Society Publication

No. 53

Price Rs. [illegible]-

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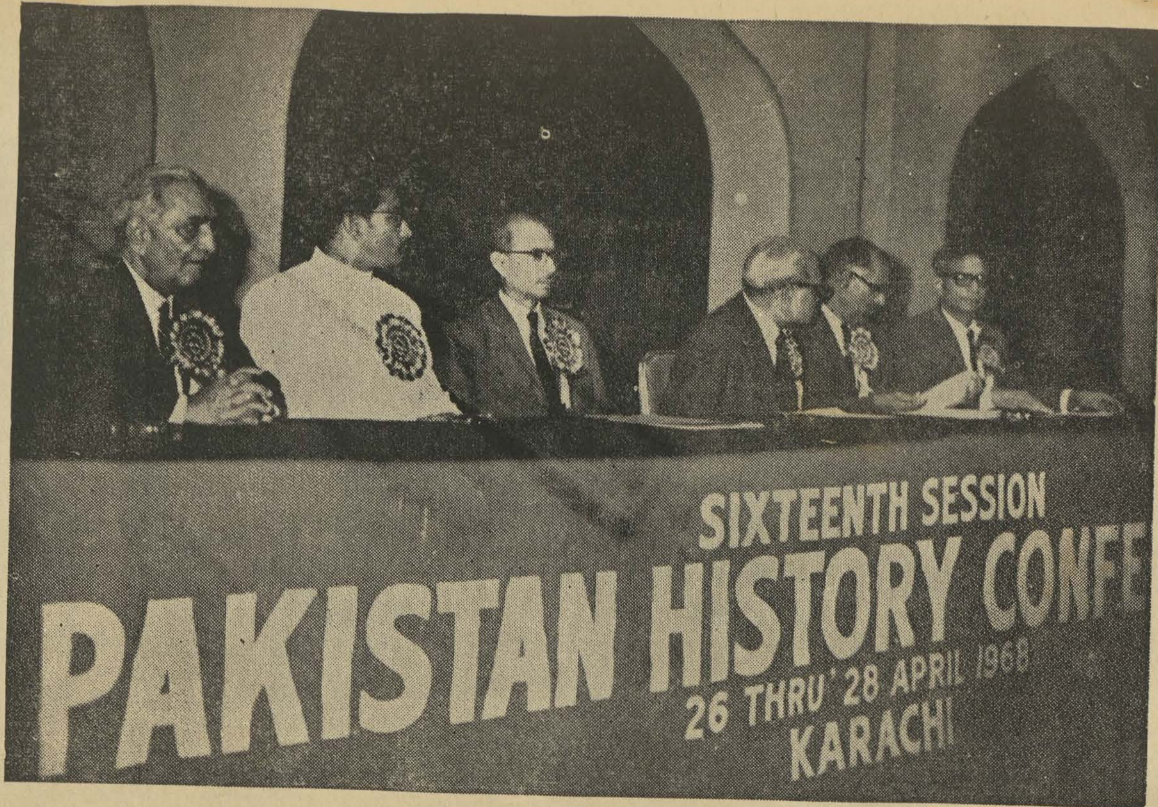
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PREFACE

The fifteenth session of the Pakistan History Conference was held at Karachi in 1965. We could not hold the sixteenth session for two years (1966 and 1967). It was decided that the session should be held at Karachi during 1968. I am glad to be able to say that besides a number of delegates from various parts of the country scholars from U. S. A., U. K. and Sa'ūdi Arabia also attended the session and read papers.

KARACHI:
October, 1968.

S. MOINUL HAQ



From left to right : **Dr. S. Moinul Haq,** *General Secretary* ; **Hakim Mohammad Said,** *Chairman Reception Committee* ; **Kazi Anwarul Haque,** *Minister of Education* ; **Dr. I. H. Qureshi,** *President of the Society* ; **Dr. A. Hamid,** *President of the Session* ; **Mr. Z. U. Zubairi,** *Secretary of the Conference*



From right to left :

Hakim Mohammad Said, *Chairman, Reception Committee*
Dr. I. H. Oureshi, *President of the Society*
Dr. S. Moinul Haq, *General Secretary of the Society*

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Mr. S. A. Zeba

DELEGATES AND PARTICIPANTS

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Dr. A. Hamid, *Professor and Head, Department of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore*

Secretary of the Conference

Mr. Zafar Umar Zuberi

Assistant Secretary of the Conference

Mr. Ansar Zahid Khan

Foreign Countries

Prof. Michael M. Mozzoui, U. S. A.: *Iran in Middle Ages* (*The rise of Safwides*)

Dr. Craig Baxter, U. S. A. (*Participated as an observer*)

Dr. Muhammad Said Al-Shaafy, Saudi Arabia : *Saudi dynasty and Wahabism*

Dr. R. J. Moore, U. K. : *Approaches to Partition of the Sub-continent*

Maj. C Bond, Canada : *Canadian History Association*

Pakistan Historical Society

Mr. G. Allana : *The city of Karachi*

Major General Mohd. Akbar Khan : *Islamic Military History must be studied*

Mr. Imtiaz Mohd Khan : *Eternal conflict between Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy*

Mr. Shaheer Niazi : *Destruction of Alexandrian Library*

Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi : *Nizamul Mulk's contribution to Deccan's politics and culture**

Maulvi Fazlullah Faruqi (*Some rare books on the life of the Prophet in the library of Pakistan Historical Society* (*Urdu*)

Universities

Dr. A. Hamid, University of the Panjab

Mr. Syed Ali Abbas, University of the Panjab : *Historical Importance of Waqiat-i-Azfari*

Mr. Sher Mohd. Garewal, University of the Panjab : *Amir Ali*

Mr. Mohd. Yousuf Akhtar, University of the Panjab : *Prelude to Muslim demand for Separation*

Dr. Riazul Islam, University of Karachi

Dr. Mohd. Salim, University of Karachi : *The re-appraisal of the original sources on Shaykh Moinuddin Chishti of Ajmer*

Dr. Y. A. Hashmi, University of Karachi : *A Lacuna in Baihaqi*

Mrs. Azimunnisa Salahuddin, University of Karachi : *Sir Syed as a Historian*

Mr. Anis Ahmad, University of Karachi : *Educational thought of Ibn-i-Khaldun*

Mr. Nisar Ahmad, University of Karachi : *Dar-ul-Nadwah*

Mr. Enayatur Rahim, Rajshahi University

Colleges

Dr. S. M. Miah, Government College, Rajshahi, *Arab historiography in Early Islamic Time**

Dr. S. M. Hasan, Government College, Chittagong : *Pre-Mughul Mosques in Bengal*

Mr. M. A. Razzaque, Government College, Sylhet : *Muslim Architecture under Umayyads*

Miss Razia Ashraf, University College for Women, Peshawar

Mr. Abdul Mannan, Government College, Haripur-Hazara

Dr. S. Razi Wasti, Government College, Lahore

Prof. Munawwar Ali Khan, Government College, Lahore : *Causes and the Nature of the struggle of 1857*

Mr. A. S. Chawla. Government College, Lahore : *Foreign relations under the holy Prophet (concepts and principles)*

Miss Farhat Khan, Government College for Women, Sahiwal : *Simla Deputation*

Miss Razia Chaudhry, Government College for Women, Sahiwal : *Shah Waliullah (Urdu)*

Mr. Ali Shabbar Kazmi, Central Training College, Lahore : *A Survey of Historic sense in School children**

Miss Z. Salamat, Gulberg College, Lahore

Mr. Asghar Ali, Municipal Degree College, Burewala, Multan *Muslim Commonwealth and Sacularism**

Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Siddiqi, Government College, Rawalpindi : *Origin of State in Islam*

Mr. Khuda Dina, Umrani Government College, Thatta

Mr. Ziaullah Khan, Government College, Mirpur (Azad Kashmir)

Miss Hamida Murtaza, Islamia College, Karachi : *Origin of Muslim Historiography*

Dr. Mumtaz A. Pathan, Islamia College, Karachi : *Bhambore and its identification with Al-Daybul.*

Mrs. Mumtaz Moin, Karachi College for Women, Karachi : *Imām Abū Ḥanifa.*

Mr. Syed Safdar Ali Shah, Abdulla College, Karachi : *Development of Science under Muslims.*

Miss Asghari Begum, Khurshid Girls College, Karachi.

Mr. Ansar Zahid Khan, National College, Karachi : *Social Welfare under Akbar.*

Mr. Nasim Usmani, National College, Karachi: *Religions of Arabia at the advent of Islam* (*Urdu*).

Mr. Zafar Husain, Government Teachers Training College, Karachi.

Mr. Zahiruddin Faruqi, Government Teachers Training College, Karachi.

Mr. Rauf Ahmad Khan, Government Teachers Training College. Karachi.

Mr. M. Anwarul Haq Hashmi, D. J. Government College, Karachi.

Mr. Athar Siddiqi, Jinnah College, Karachi.

Mr. Rizwan Ahmad Alvi, Jinnah College, Karachi.

Mrs. Atiya Zuberi, Sir Syed Girls College, Karachi.

Mrs. Rehana Athar, Sir Syed Girls College, Karachi.

Miss Nasima Ausaf, APWA College, Karachi.

Miss Sarwar Jahan Tayyabi, APWA College, Karachi.

Mr. Hasnain Kazmi, Allama Iqbal College, Karachi.

Mr. Fakhrul Hasan, Sind Muslim College, Karachi : *Mukhtar Thaqafi.*

Mr. Lutfullah, Sind Muslim College, Karachi.

Miss Tajdar Bano, Government College for Women, Karachi : *Religious policy of the Mughuls.*

Mr. Mohd. Sami, City College, Karachi.

Miss Nuzhat Sabir, City College, Karachi.

Mr. Salahuddin, City College, Karachi.

Dr. Rehmani Begum, Sirajud Dawla College, Karachi : *Role of History in Muslim Separatist Movement* (*Urdu*).

Mr. Bazlur Rahman Khan, Govt. College, Decca : *Education of the Bengali Muslims under Company Rule.*

Mrs. Mohsin Ara Begum, Govt. Girls College, Dacca.

Learned Bodies

Dr. B. A. Dar, Iqbal Academy, Karachi.

Mr. S. M. Jafar, Central Record Office, Peshawar.

Dr. S. M. Ikram, Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore.

Mr. Mohd. Ishtiaq Khan, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

Mr. Riazuddin Ahmad, Anjuman-i-Islamia Pakistan, Karachi.

Mufti Intizamullah Shahabi, Anjuman-i-Islamia Pakistan, Karachi : *Khānqahi Educational System (Urdu).*

Mr. Syed Altaf Ali Barelvi, All Pakistan Educational Conference, Karachi : *The Lion of the Punjab, Mir Mannu.**

Mr. Hamiuddin, All Pakistan Educational Conference, Karachi: *The Original History of Qaim Khāni Rajputs.*

Mr. Mohd. Ayub Qadri, Dairah-i-Mu'in al-Ma'arif, Karachi: *Signatories of the Jihad Fatwa of 1857 (Urdu).*

Mr. S. Sakhawat Mirza, Dairah-i-Mu'in al-Ma'arif, Karachi : *The two Reliable Historians of Deccan.*

Mr. Sherali Alidina, Ismailia Association, Karachi, : *The role of late Agha Khan in the Political re-awakening of the Muslims in the sub-continent.*

Mr. Qasim Ali, Ismailia Association, Karachi.

Mr. Ghulam Ali Allana, Ismailia Association, Karachi : *Sumra Dynasty of Sind.*

Mr. Qudratulla Fatimi, Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad : *Glimpses of Maritime History of Pakistan.*

Participants

Dr. Abdullah Chaghtai, Lahore.

Mr. Piar Ali G. Allana, Karachi : *A Brief History of Trade Associations in the city of Karachi.*

Mr. S. A. Vahid, Karachi.

Mr. Obaidullah Qudsi, Karachi: *Errors of Muslim Historians (Urdu).**

Maulvi Rashid Ahmad Arshad, Karachi : *Tabari as a Historian (Urdu).*

Mr. Anwar Ahmad Alvi, Karachi : *Jaziya or the Capitation Tax.*

Mr. Syed Mustafa Ali Barelvi, Karachi: *Amirs of Sind.*

Prof. Mahmud Barelvi, Karachi : *Islamic Background of West Pakistan.*

* These papers were not presented as the delegates could not attend the conference.

Proceedings

Friday, 26th April, 1968

The first Session of the Conference was held at Hotel Inter-continental at 4-30 P. M. The proceedings commended with a recitation from the Holy *Qur'ān* by Qari M. Shakir Qasimi. After a brief introduction of delegates who had come from outside Pakistan. The Chairman of the Reception Committee Hakim Mohammad Said, read his welcome address (*vide* Appendix A). This was followed by the speech of Dr. I. H. Qureshi, President, Pakistan Historical Society (*vide* Appendix B). M. Qazi Anwarul Haq, Minister for Education, Government of Pakistan, then delivered his address, and inaugurated the Session of the Conference (*vide* Appendix C).

Dr. S. Moinul Haq, General Secretary of the Pakistan Historical Society, presented his report for the year 1967 (*vide* Appendix D). After the report was read Dr. A. Hamid, Professor of History at the University of the Panjab, delivered his Presidential Address (*vide* Appendix E). The first item on the programme after the Presidential address was a paper by Mr. Khalid A. Ishaque, on the role of history in the growth of national consciousness (*vide* list of papers).

The Session concluded with a brief speech of thanks by Mr. Z. U. Zubairi.

Saturday, 27 April, 1968

9-15 A. M. Delegates visited the Mazar of Quaid-i-Azam

Morning Session (Jinnah College)

9-45 A. M. to 1 P. M. Papers read and discussed

11 A.M.	(Break for Coffee)
1-30 P.M.	Lunch
	(Host : Anjuman Islamia, Pakistan)

Afternoon Session (Jinnah College)

3 to 6 P.M.	Papers read and discussed
	(Break for Tea—5 P.M.)
7-30 P.M.	Dr. Muzzuoi's talk on Sufism and Shiism under the auspices of Sham-i-Hamdard at Hamdard Manzil.
9 P. M.	Dinner (Host : Reception Committee)

Sunday, 28 April 1968

Morning Session (Jinnah College)

9 30 A.M. to 1 P.M.	Papers read and discussed
11 A.M.	(Break for Coffee)
1-30 P.M.	Lunch
	(Host : Jinnah College)

Afternoon Session (Jinnah College)

3 to 5-15 P.M.	Papers read and discussed
5-30 P.M.	At Home : All Pakistan Educational Conference
8 P.M.	Dinner
	(Host : Allamah Iqbal College)

Appendix A

WELCOME ADDRESS

by

HAKIM MOHAMMAD SAID, S. I.

President, Hamdard National Foundation; Vice-President, Pakistan Historical Society and Chairman, Reception Committee

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel deeply honoured in welcoming the distinguished scholars and delegates, from far and near, and through them the people whom they represent, to the sixteenth session of the Pakistan History Conference which is being held under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society. It is also my pleasure and privilege to welcome Kazi Anwarul Haque, Minister for Education, Health and Social Welfare, Government of Pakistan, whose abiding interest in the preservation of our cultural heritage and literary traditions and in the promotion of the cause of education and learning, has prompted him to accept our invitation to inaugurate the Session. His interest in the activities of our Society has been and will continue to be a source of encouragement to its workers in their effort to develop historical studies and research in Pakistan.

Karachi, which has the honour of being your host, is now a metropolitan city with a population of three million and a half; it has developed almost romantically from a small fishing village, known at Kureche Chun. When in the 18th century, the port of Kharak was silted up, its population and commerce shifted to the present site of Karachi; later the port of Shah Bunder also suffered the fate of Kharak and in consequence Karachi gained. It was, however, in the second half of the last century that Karachi began to rise and develop as a commercial town, with a rich hinterland behind it. The common threads woven by the sons of the soil, the conquerors, the farmers and the immigrants, have given it fine

enduring qualities. After the birth of Pakistan, it played a vital role in building up our life and was the seat of our Government till 1959. Karachi has the honour of being the birthplace and the last resting place of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinah. It has one of the largest universities of Pakistan and a number of colleges of varying sizes and descriptions and covering a wide range of subjects. Culturally it is cosmopolitan in outlook, and one can notice in its life the shades of the various regional cultures of Pakistan as well as the traditions brought by the immigrants from their original homes. I am sure that your visit to this remarkable place, though brief, will not be entirely devoid of interest.

I do not presume to say much on the science or philosophy of history before a gathering of experts who have devoted their lives to its study. To my mind history has a special appeal both to the specialist and the layman. To one who would dismiss it with Carlyle's definition and the distillation of rumour I would say that it is scientific in its way of research and presentation, philosophic in its interpretation of men and events and thrilling as the romance of human experience. The greatest service of history is that it keeps alive our links with the past and prepares us for the task of the future. Every nation or group of nations has its own story to relate and a knowledge of the trials and struggles of the earlier generations is necessary for all who want to study and understand the problems and perils as well as the challenges and opportunities which confront us today. From times immemorial the countries and nations of the world have been moving forward in the process of the evolution of human experience. History transcends the bound of geography when it lifts the curtain of the past and presents the record of man's wisdom and his follies in the background of the panorama of present life. Although individual events may have occurred in a certain time and at a certain place their impact leaves its mark on the wider canvas of history which has for this reason been called "the story of man". It is for the historian to sift this mass and fix up the

relevant facts in their true perspective. Truth may sometimes be found to have been clouded by racial or religious prejudices and accuracy sacrificed on the altar of political expediency but the historian's intellectual honesty should steer clear of the pitfalls. The historians have therefore a tremendous responsibility to discharge.

For the Muslims the study of history has a special charm. Finding it indispensable for the study of *Ḥadith* they soon developed it into a science. We have tremendous amount of historical literature on the various countries and peoples belonging to the Muslim world. The study of the history of Hind-Pakistan has also a special claim on us. We have to secure it from inaccuracies and prejudices. While we should feel proud of the glories of our past we should also be prepared to accept the shortcomings and failings of our ancestors. If history is to guide and inspire us it must reflect the correct pictures of the past. With industrial and technological development in the present century, the concept of history has also undergone a change. Since the days of Herodotus and Hellenicus the change has been one of a full circle. From recording the chronicles of dynasties we have moved into a region where the examination of socio-economic factors and tendencies has become more important and from the factual to the philosophical.

Nor can we minimize the study of the history of early Islam, for Islamic traditions are the basis of our ideology. We have to build up a new and suitable structure of Society and for this difficult task a scientific study of history is indispensable. Ibn Khaldun, one of the greatest writers on the philosophy of history long before Machiavelli, Vico, Spengler, Gibbon, Grant or Toynbee, has rightly said that "the true purpose of history is to make us acquainted with human society, i.e., with the civilization of the world, and with its natural phenomena, such as savage life, the softening of manners, attachment to the family and the tribe, the various kinds of superiority which one people gains over another, the kingdoms and diverse dynasties which arise in this

way, the different trades and laborious occupations to which men devote themselves in order to earn their livelihood, the sciences and arts, in fine, all the manifold conditions which naturally occur in the development of civilization".

Thus, it is the socio-economic aspect of history that demands our greatest attention. I am glad to say that some of our historians have begun to study this branch of history. Of the several works on the social history which have been recently published the following deserve to be specially mentioned: Dr. I. H. Qureshi's *The Muslim Community*, Mr. Aziz Ahmad's *Studies in Islamic Culture in Indian Environment*, and Dr. Noor Nabi's *Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India*, in English; Dr. S. Moinul Haq's *Ma'ashri wa Ilmi Tarikh* and Mr. S.M. Ikram's *Rawd-i-Kawthar* and *Mawj-i-Kawthar* in Urdu. These are positive contributions to our historical literature. I hope other historians will take up the work started by these eminent writers.

In short, ladies and gentlemen, history, whether it is the spiritual movement of ideas, as Collingwood held, or is like an organism undergoing various stages of growth resulting in the extinction of a given civilization, as Spengler thinks, or an assertion of the intellectual evolution of man through life-force, history does have many things to teach us—to see how to ward off and obviate accidents, to avoid the pitfalls of the past, to reduce the struggle for existence in the community to the minimum, and to strengthen our spiritual heritage.

The Muslim world has been in a state of decline during the last 900 years. The most vital reason of this decline has been our drifting away from the ideals given to us by the Prophet and his immediate successors. I am sorry to mention, but it is a fact that our younger generations are gradually becoming ignorant of them. The historian alone can help us in this crisis by inspiring our youth with these lofty ideals and traditions. And I have no doubt that once we catch up the lost link we shall be in a position to re-equip ourselves to meet the challenges of the present life.

Another important problem to be studied by us is the Pakistan Movement. This is absolutely necessary to make our people realize that the enormous sacrifices made by the Muslims of Hind-Pakistan to secure an independent homeland for themselves were made to attain certain ideals of life. Our path is long and arduous, but we have to traverse it, and cross every hurdle that blocks our way.

And now Mr. Minister, ladies and gentlemen, I welcome you once again and conclude my remarks with a prayer for your success in the great task that lies ahead of you, for as Oscar Wilde has said :

"Anybody can make history. Only a great man can write it."

Thank you.

Appendix B

ADDRESS

by

ISHTIAQ HUSSAIN QURESHI

S. Pk., Ph. D. (Cantab.)

PRESIDENT, PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Mr. Minister, Mr. President Elect., Mr. Chairman, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Pakistan Historical Society is holding its sixteenth conference after a gap of two years. You would recall that we met last time in the campus of the University of Karachi in the month of May, 1965. Normally we should meet once a year as indeed we did right until 1965. But since then we have run into difficulties. Instead of being invited, we have been angling for invitations with no success. As you know, it is not easy to hold a conference without local support. During these three years we have desperately tried to meet outside Karachi without success and ultimately we thought that we should hold the conference even though we cannot go out of this city. We are grateful to those beneficent friends whose generosity has made it possible for us to meet here, in particular Hakim Mohammad Said Sahib, whose interest in cultural and scientific activities is well known.

You will hear from the Secretary that the Society has not been able to function properly because of financial difficulties. It is a sad commentary upon the importance that we attach to intellectual activity that the Society has been greatly handicapped because of want of funds. Many developing countries have deemed it necessary to have a strong historical society adequately supported by the national government for reconstructing the country's history from scattered sources and interpreting it to its

people so that they may cultivate a sense of unity because of having shared a common past. Societies are built and integrated because of their components coming together and living a common life for a sufficiently long time.

This is true of all human associations and groups and nations are no exception. A good deal of the common past enters the subconscious of every individual and provides an emotional anchor to his participation in corporate life. The sum total of these emotions develops into historical forces of great strength. In this manner history plays an important role in building up nations. It was the inevitable urge of historical direction that brought Pakistan into existence. An understanding of these forces is necessary for strengthening bonds of integration which can be provided only by history. Fortunately that history exists. We are not a new people created out of the exigencies of ephemeral politics. We are an ancient people living in an ancient homeland and our life has been moulded by a long interplay of historical forces. The history of our land goes back to such a remote past that it commingles with pre-history. The most potent factor in shaping our destiny, however, has been Islām. For more than thirteen centuries in the greater part of West Pakistan, for ten centuries in the whole of West Pakistan and for eight centuries in the whole of the country, our life has been based on its common ideology, its common culture and its common way of life. During all this long span of time we have shared both success and defeat, prosperity and adversity, achievement and humiliation, glory and ignominy and our hearts have learnt to beat in unison. The common experience of life and acceptance of ideals have, throughout the ages, been the binding cement of our existence. But these forces should not, indeed must not, be left to work only in our subconscious, on the contrary they have to be brought on the surface for the purpose of giving a true direction to our lives and our policies otherwise they will be pushed into the background by other forces at work and weaken the very foundations of our national life.

Fortunately our President has been aware of the need of projecting the true history of our people and has taken fruitful steps in this direction. Unfortunately our energies are dissipated because of lack of co-ordination. We set up new institutions without adequately looking after the old ones and, quite frankly, our national resources in finance as well as scholarship are not sufficient to run rival or even parallel organisations. I think that we should pool our resources and work together to save ourselves from the unnecessary expenditure involved in duplication of administration. The Pakistan Historical Society was the first to be organised in this country with Government support and the enthusiasm of scholars. It provides a platform in its annual conferences where historians can meet and discuss their problems. But now it has fallen on evil days and our utility is greatly limited mostly because of lack of finances and partly because several other organisations have entered the field. I think we should be assisted by public opinion as well as our scholars to consolidate our resources. The tax-payers' resources also could be utilised to greater advantage by some kind of co-ordination brought about with the assistance of the Government of Pakistan. The Pakistan Historical Society will be only too willing to assist in this process.

Our hearts are heavy because of the death of our former President Mr. Fazlur Rahman who, throughout the life of the Society until his death, was so closely associated with it that we find it even now difficult to believe that he is no longer with us, having been snatched away by a cruel accident. I had the good fortune of coming into close contact with him ever since Pakistan came into existence. I found in him a rare enthusiasm for history. It was under his ministership that this Society as well as the Pakistan Historical and Archives Commission were founded. His interest in the Society did not come to an end after he ceased to be a minister. Indeed, I met him last only a short time before his death when he came to my house and discussed wtih me the affairs of the Pakistan Historical Society. He was

a highly patriotic Pakistani and a true Muslim. By his death not only the Pakistan Historical Society but the entire country is much poorer. After his death I have been elected the President of the Society but I possess neither the authority that he possessed when he was a minister nor the leisure that he commanded after he ceased to be a minister, nor for that matter his great influence. There could not have been a person less qualified to steer the course of the Society through the difficulties with which it is confronted today. These difficulties indeed are so great that they will overwhelm us completely if our efforts to enlist support do not succeed. I do not think that anybody would deny the modest statement that this country does need a Historical Society. This society can function only if it can secure the support of scholars and the patronage of the intelligentsia who can help by making donations, becoming members and purchasing our publications. Even if we secure all this, we still will be in need of an adequate grant from the Government.

In the end I welcome all of you who have found time to participate in this conference. In particular we are grateful to you, Mr. Minister, for kindly finding time to inaugurate the proceedings of this conference. This is an indication of your interest which we appreciate very deeply. I extend a special welcome to those scholars from abroad who have travelled long distances to attend this conference. Their presence is a token of the friendly relations that exist between Pakistan and their countries. I assure them that the people and scholars of Pakistan deeply appreciate these friendships and are desirous of strengthening our cultural and intellectual ties further.

Appendix C

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

by

KAZI ANWARUL HAQUE, EDUCATION MINISTER,
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

Ladies and Gentlemen

It is both an honour and a privilege to inaugurate a Session of Pakistan History Conference which is attended by distinguished historians of this country as well as from abroad. I am fully conscious of this honour and am therefore grateful to the Executive Committee of the Pakistan Historical Society for asking me to inaugurate the present (Sixteenth) Session.

To preach the importance and advantages of the study of history to a gathering of scholers who have devoted their lives to this cause would be almost presumptuous on my part. Nevertheless I cannot help making a few observations in this connection because I feel that the historians of Pakistan can make a substantial contribution to the growth of national consciousness. And indeed it would be a great and lasting achievement for being a young nation we need nourishment in all phases of our life.

When the Muslim led by the Quaid-i-Azam were demanding a separate homeland on the soil of the sub-continent, they were not asking merely for a territory to be independently governed by them. The main justification for this demand was their anxiety to preserve, maintain and develop their own culture and ideology. By its very nature therefore Pakistan is an ideological State, and Islam being the basis of this ideology it is naturally the chief cementing force of our national integration. Geographically our two wings are separated by a vast area of alien territory, linguistically we have two national languages besides several

regional dialects, but in our allegiance to our nationhood and feelings of patriotism we are behind no other nation.

The role of history in stabilizing the forces of patriotism has always been great. To enable our children to grow into patriotic and courageous citizens ready to make secrifices for the cause of their country we must inspire them with a love and respect for their past heritage. It is on the foundations of the study of the past that we can raise the structure of our future life. Our forefathers have left behind a remarkable heritage and noble tradition in the various fields of human activity, in which we can take pride ; these will serve as guide-lines for us. Similarly we can profit by their mistakes and failures. If a generation in the past has suffered due to the mistakes of its leaders we can take a lesson from them. History can also render a useful service in telling our younger generation what have been and where lie the forces which have provided the peoples of the various regions of Pakistan with a common destiny and a common road leading to its fulfilment.

Equally important is the chapter of our struggle for freedom. The Revolution of 1857 was no doubt a grand effort in which thousands of Muslims laid down their lives in the cause of freedom and countless families were destroyed and uprooted. Its failure brought in its wake new problems and dangers, and there can be no doubt that if Syed Ahmed Khan had not shown them the right path the result would have been a complete disaster. It was not long after his death that the position became more clear; even the casual observer could see that there were two (if not more) nations in this subcontinent who were only partly common. The All-India Moslim League had therefore to fight from the outset on two fronts ; against alien rule, and against the Hindu-dominated Indian National Congress. This dual struggle lasting well over forty years had a chequered career, but ultimately it ended in the creation of Pakistan as an independent sovereign State.

Ladies and Gentlemen

I feel that it is the responsibility of the Pakistan historians to devote their energies to the study of the various aspects of these

problems, and provide authentic material not only for our own students but also for those of our friends in other countries who want to know something of our past history particularly the origin and birth of, and the various stages of development through which it has passed during the first twenty years of its life. By emphasising the study of these problems I do not mean to minimize the importance of basic research in history. Nor am I unaware of the difficulties which our researchers have to face. It is a known fact that most of the good libraries and important source-material of our history has remained in Bharat, but in this as other fields of national activity, we have to work hard to make up the lee-way.

It would not be out of place to add here that besides carrying on research and working on the available source-material our historians and in fact all of us, should take an active interest in saving and collecting papers, documents, records etc. which can be utilized for the study of history. Besides old manuscripts of books in private possession there are numerous letters and other papers scattered about in the country. These have to be saved from destruction, and I would ask the historians assembled here to keep this in mind.

In conclusion I would like to add a word about the Pakistan Historical Society. The Society was established in 1950, and has been in receipt of liberal financial assistance from the Government both for its normal activities and special projects ever since its inception. The importance of the Society was implicitly acknowledged by the Board of Editors which compiled the "History of Freedom Movement" when it assigned the copyright of this important work and also entrusted its publication to the Society. I hope the Society will give its immediate attention to the publication of the fourth and last volume of this work. The Society is working on several other projects. I notice that these projects are mostly in the nature of translations. There is no doubt that the study of history would be incomplete without reference to works of Muslim scholars. They must, therefore, become available to

our people as source material of intrinsic value to historical research and study.

I, however, feel that research in contemporary history, particularly the Muslim struggle for Pakistan which has direct relevance to our present day needs, requires special attention. The Society has not been giving it the attention it deserves. I hope that the Society give it a higher priority and take steps to get the work on the production of History of the Muslim people of Hind-Pakistan sub-continent accelerated.

I think the Society has taken a useful step in including in its programme of activities the holding of an annual conference of historians. This gives them an opportunity of establishing personal contacts with their colleagues at other places, and exchanging ideas on many a useful topic. I trust that this will be a regular feature in the Society's programme.

In the end I thank once again the Executive Committee of the Pakistan Historical Society for giving me an opportunity to express my ideas on some very important problems connected with the study of history.

With these words I have the pleasure of Inaugurating the Sixteenth Session of the Pakistan History Conference, and wish you success in your deliberations.

In its meeting held on 5 May 1967 the Executive Committee co-opted Mr. M.A.H. Qarni and Mr. M.N. Safa as its Members.

Pakistan History Conference :

As no invitation was received no Session of the Pakistan History Conference could be held in 1966 and 1967.

Publications :

Due to financial difficulties, a reference to which will be made in the following paragraph, the work of publication was naturally slow. However, we have published or started printing the following works in the course of the year under review :

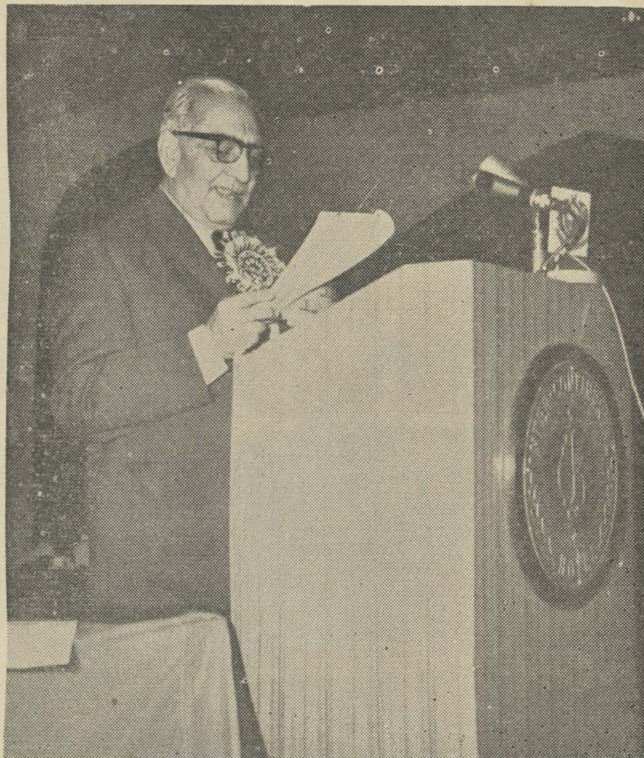
1. Ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr* : English translation of Volume I, Parts 1 and 2 (600 pages) has been published. We have already started printing Volume II. The translations of Volumes III and IV are also ready for print.

2. Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (English translation) Volume VI (364 pages) has been published.

3. *The Great Revolution of* 1857 (more than 600 pages), by Dr. S. Moinul Haq, will be published next month.

4. 'Allāmah Shibli's *Sīrat al-Nabi* (English translation by Mr. Fazlur Rahman) Part I of Volume I has been published. A substantial portion of Part II has been printed and we hope to complete its printing in the course of this year. In this connection I have to thank Begum Fazlur Rahman who has offered to give us in instalments a loan of Rs. 12,000/- (to be repaid to her in the form of 500 copies of the printed book). This has enabled us to continue its printing which had stopped on account of want of funds. She has already paid two instalments totalling Rs. 7, 000/-.

5. *Dhakhirat al-Khawānīn* (Persian text edited by Dr. S. Moinul Haq). A portion of Vol. II of this important work has been printed. The Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, has



Dr. S. Moinul Haq
presenting the annual report of the Society

Some delegates at the Hamdard Secretariat



Front Row : *From left to right* : **Dr. Bond Deourdsy, Dr. A. Hamid, Dr. Muhammad Said Al-Shaafy, Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Dr. R. J. Moore, Hakim Muhammad Said**

Back Row : **Prof. Michael M. Mozzoui (second from left) Dr. S. Moinul Haq (third from the left)**

offered to pay Rs. 10,000/- as advance price of the printed copies of the book. We have however not received the amount as yet. The manuscripts of Vols. II and III are ready and printing will start as soon as we receive the amount promised.

6. *Judicial Administration under the Mughuls* by Mr. M. B. Ahmad. This book is in the press ; the work of printing has been slow because of want of funds. However, we have decided and hope to complete it in the course of this year.

The following two *Memoirs* have also been published :

7 *Muhammad Ibn Ishaq* by Dr. M. Hamidullah.

8. *Qadi Minhaj al-Din Siraj* by Mrs. Mumtaz Moin.

9. Besides these publications the four issues of the *Journal* (Vol. XV) were regularly published.

Finances :

As I had stated in my report for 1965 and 1966, the financial position of the Society is highly disconcerting, the reason being that the Government has been gradually cutting down the general grant of the Society for the last several years. Besides the special grants which are spent on specific projects, our general grant has come down from Rs. 50,000/- in 1958-59 to Rs. 25,000/- in the current year. It may be mentioned that it is from this grant and the income of the Society from other sources that we have to meet the entire expenditure on administration, research staff, maintenance of the Library and the printing of the *Journal* and books other than those printed under special projects. Apart from the general grant our sources of income are sale proceeds of the books, subscription of the *Journal*, membership fee and donations; the income from these sources is neither substantial nor certain. Most of our publications are learned works based on research or translations of classics. These can never be good sellers, and the result is that although we are rich as far as our stocks are concerned, we have

always been handicapped in the implementation of our projects because of the paucity of funds; at present we are almost in a state of destitution. The extremely slow process of the sale of these learned books however need not discourage us; true, we cannot meet our present requirements from their sale proceeds, but they are a literary treasure which will enrich our cultural life for several generations to come. Those of us who are engaged in research know that the first editions of some of the learned works published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal more than a hundred years ago have not been completely sold out as yet. Nevertheless, though a source of some consolation, this fact does not help us much in the solution of our present problems, for which we have to depend mostly on Government aid.

The gradual cut in our grant has landed us into a heavy debt in the form of an over-draft of more than Rs. 60,000/- with the bank. In fact, every year we had hopes of an enhancement in our grant and therefore we did not cut down our literary activities or the work of publishing books and the *Journal.* I had brought this fact to the notice of the President, the late Mr. Fazlur Rahman, and suggested that some of the projects could be dropped or postponed. He did not agree with the suggestion and said that he would soon raise donations to repay the bank's loan, but unfortunately he died before he could start collecting funds. However, we have been trying to improve our finances and we have requested the Government to give us an *ad hoc* grant to enable us to repay the bank's loan. We have also requested the Government to substantially enhance our general grant, and in view of the Government's policy of encouraging literary and research activities we strongly hope that due consideration will be given to our requests.

We also propose to approach some institutions and philanthropists for donations. In fact, the Society and, for that matter, any learned body engaged in research and the publication of learned books, can subsist only on assistance in the form of a regular and

substantial grant-in-aid from the Government, and endowments and donations from the philanthropists.

We fully appreciate the efforts of the Government and those of our countrymen who are making a noteworthy contribution to the financial stability and economic and industrial development of Pakistan, and it is a fact, too obvious to be mentioned, that during the last few years our country has made a remarkable progress in this direction It is however equally necessary that the cultural and literary development of the nation is not ignored.

Audit Note on the Accounts of the Pakistan Historical Society (Regd.), Karachi, for the financial year 1966-67.

The Accounts of the Pakistan Historical Society were checked in detail by the undersigned and the following observations are offered :—

I. **Grant-in-aid :** Three grants-in-aid as detailed below were received by the Society from the Central Government for the purposes noted against each item. The amounts of these grants-in-aid were duly credited into the funds of the Society, accounted for and spent on the objects for which they were sanctioned as will be seen from the enclosed statements of accounts drawn up and signed by the undersigned.

S. No.	*Nature of grant and purpose*		*Amount*
1	Normal Grant-in-aid for the Society ...	Rs.	25,000.00
2	Ibn-e-Sa'd's Tabaqat	Rs.	15,000.00
3	History of the Muslim People of Hind-Pakistan	Rs.	10,000.00
	Total	Rs.	50,000.00

The income and expenditure of the Society inclusive of the above grants and the closing balances as shown in the attached Annexures of the three accounts namely (a) General Account of the Pakistan Historical Society, (b) Project of "Ibn-e-Sa'd's Tabaqat" and (c) "History of the Muslim People of Hind-Pakistan" have been duly checked with the relevant records and vouchers maintained in the office of the Pakistan Historical Society, Karachi.

II. The Society is running in heavy deficits and the bank overdraft in the General account of the Society amounted to Rs. 51,301.04 on 30-6-1967. The authorities of the Society should

take immediate steps to meet this deficit either by donations or by some other means.

3. **Remarks**: The accounts have been properly maintained and satisfactory. All expenditures were incurred under proper authority.

(Sd.) SALIM QUADRI, Hony. Auditor,
Retired Deputy Director
(Commercial) Audit Department,
Karachi.

Appendix E

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

by

ABDUL HAMID

Professor of History, University of the Panjab, Lahore

I am grateful to the Pakistan Historical Society for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of the Sixteenth Pakistan History Conference. It was not without some debate in my own mind that I decided to accept this honour. The Society has chosen for its Chairman a comparatively obscure and a very quiet person who can only hope that he may not prove very disappointing.

With its record of research and publications, the Society has made a place for itself on the Historical map of the country. It has given a lead by handling some momentous projects and its discussions have spotlighted the problems of Historiography for us. It has done the difficult job of pioneering and it is the oldest organization of historians in a young country. It has also served as the most important, if not the only, forum of History teachers working in the colleges and universities of both wings. I myself have put in nearly 32 years of teaching at different levels and in different conditions. I should, therefore, make no apology for discussing some important professional problems. Of course, I am not saying anything new, but I may be pardoned for saying it in my own prosaic and down-to-earth way.

Despite the fact that we teachers of History are not ideally situated in terms of opportunities and facilities available elsewhere, we have not lacked a sense of direction. We have been feeling our way during the last 20 years of independence. In this journey we have made some gains and sustained some losses. This, therefore, appears to be the appropriate occasion to devote some time to stocktaking, to stress some of the difficulties and responsibilities of Pakistani historians today and suggest a few short-term projects. I seek your indulgence to begin with a brief survey of our legacy.

The establishment of British rule initiated a vast transition and a process of slow and, at times, silent indoctrination of the populace. The new education gave new ideas in the fields of science, religion, morals and literature. Vehemently rejected at first, exotic ideas steadily gained in influence. Local traditions got buried under the debris of old institutions. Men and affairs came to be assessed in extraneous terms. A great dramatist was eulogised as the Shakespeare of the land and a poet of merit extolled as the Wordsworth of a certain area. (It was this aspect of our life that Poet Akbar satirized in a well-known verse which said that: London alone produced goods of quality, and publication in the *Pioneer* alone made reliable news.) All classes of the ruling race contributed in changing the outlook of the subject races. The methods and techniques employed by each class varied with its vocation. The missionary, the civil servant and the businessman had their share in bringing about the change. The small number of British teachers who came to the sub-continent from time to time, left an indelible mark on youthful minds. The British rulers desired to strengthen their hold over the land, sometimes by cultural conquest, sometimes by encouraging missionary enterprise. The members of the ruling race who devoted themselves to historical studies were not always professional historians. More often than not, they were pillars of the administration. Consciously or unconsciously, their concept of India's past was shaped by political exigencies. For them history became an instrument of political proselytism. They selected their facts with an eye to imperial objectives. They exercised their role as empire-builders by contrasting their own 'paternalistic' system with the 'oppressive' governments of the past and bringing out the benefits and blessings of British Raj in the process. They were enthusiastic in idealising the ancient past of the land because it was too remote to be a serious competitor. It was otherwise with the Muslim past. Its picture, as painted by British historians, was either distorted or wanting in perspective. It is possible that in some cases they were genuinely misled by an imperfect acquaintance with their source materials. But, on the

whole, they retailed politically motivated history to their readers. The writer who observed that the salary of a modern Viceroy was a pittance as compared with that of a Mughal grandee was obviously making an entry in the political ledger.

Speaking generally, the study of history was part of a Conquerer's propaganda. British history was an overemphasized study. England's constitutional history was taught as an ideal study in the growth of social ideas and political institutions. The Whig tradition of the 18th and early 19th centuries was often looked upon as the last word on political wisdom. European history was included in the courses of reading but it was taught almost exclusively from the British point of view. Sympathies and antipathies of British historians, thus, became our own. We looked upon Louis XIV, William III, Napoleon or Bismark through British eyes and judged their merits and failings according to the standards supplied by the British historians. English was a compulsory subject and medium of instruction. The study of English literature together with the study of English history gave a distinctly Anglo-Saxon orientation to our thinking. It was not without significance that history of the British empire was a compulsory subject for some of the competitive examinations.

The history of sub-continent did not occupy a very significant place in the scheme of studies. In the year 1933 there was only one paper on the history of the sub-continent from the earliest times to 1919 for the M. A. students at the Panjab University. Islamic History was relegated to the background. In 1932, this University virtually abolished the study of this subject for its B. A. classes. It is also noteworthy that the study of Sikh rule in the Panjab enjoyed unaccountable popularity and that the subject of the compulsory thesis was almost invariably drawn from the reign of Ranjit Singh or his immediate successors. Other media of popular education also aroused and kept alive our interest in British ideas and institutions. A debate in the House of Lords. a brilliant speech in the House of Commons or a pronouncement of policy by the British Prime Minister invariably

made the first news. Our interest in history, thus, remained narrow and alien.

The progress of World War II and its long duration brought about a revolution in men's ideas. The daily War news revealed the inadequacy of our knowledge of History as well as Geography. After the War came independence. Even though a sense of direction was held to be inherent in the creation of the new State, there were few spectacular changes. The new Universities came to have separate departments of Islamic History. The study of Muslim rule in the sub-continent gained an importance and an attempt was made to discard some crude ideas that had gathered round it. There was, however, a visible loss of interest in historical studies in our colleges and universities. While pre-independence generations of Muslim students had an understandable partiality for history, the opposite tendency began to operate with a vengeance. The study of Arts subjects like Histoy, generally, came to be confined to those who could not gain admission to Science classes. The former lack of opportunities for scientific and technical education came to be repidly repaired. Another setback to the study of history came from declining interest in the study of the Persian language which is rich in the source materials of our history. From the present drift it appears that Persian would be a sealed book to the History student of tomorrow. He will have to depend more and more on translations which are inadequate for original work. Moreover, there is much in classical works that is untranslatable. Syed Ahmed Khan, who clearly saw the hazards inherent in an attitude of indifference to the springs of our cultural heritage, declared unequivocally that we could not retain our sense of identity if we discarded the study of our scriptural and cultural languages.

The education reforms of 1960 introduced some radical changes in the syllabi and courses of reading at all lebels. The changes were most pronounced at the school stage where a new subject, called Social Studies, was introduced in all classes from II to X. This was intended to give the students doses of integrated

information about History, Civics and Geography. Actually, integration remained on paper and the value of the subject was reduced by much confusion regarding the objectives and methods of its teaching. In the service of what has proved to be no more than a fad, History has disappeared as an independent subject. This naturally dealt a severe blow to the prestige of a subject which came to be introduced in schools only from class IX onwards. This is disturbing for all those conscious of a national stake in the discipline. Whereas all major subjects like English, Mathematics, and Sciences begin as independent subjects from Class II, sometimes from Class V, this status has been denied to History. The position needs to be rectified. After all, the historians of tomorrow are going to be drawn from the school children of today. If we are unable to introduce our children to History as an independent subject at school, we may find it too late and too hard to awaken their interest in this subject at later stages.

The teacher is perhaps a vital factor in the bipolar equation of education. This is not the place to go into the causes that prevent the most talented of our young men from entering the profession of teaching. We have to accept the situation as it is. The teachers of today have within their grasp many avenues and opportunities for improving their knowledge and professional competence. Scores of them have gone abroad to qualify for higher degrees and some of them have, indeed, done very well. But it is curious that Pakistani scholars abroad mostly study and investigate subjects relating to the history of the sub-continent or the history of Islam. I am not quite aware of many departures from this trend. Few grantees, to my knowledge, care to specialise in subjects like history of China or Russia. This has brought about an imbalance between what we need and what we have. Whereas there is no dearth of suitably qualified personnel to teach the history of Islam or the history of the sub-continent, we are not quite equipped to enter new fields. This again introduces another disability in the field of historical studies that

should be a matter of serious concern to the professional historian. Specialising in the history of Russia, China or Latin America must necessarily involve years of labour, besides learning foreign languages. The effort is well worth making. It should let in a lot of light and fresh air into our historical thinking. There is, after all, no point in studying our own past in isolation from that of the rest of the world. A horizontal rather than vertical approach to History would give us a truer perspective.

How far our neglect of important sectors of world history can be disturbing will be clear from a large number of articles on International politics published, or, rather reproduced from foreign journals in the magazine sections of our dailies and weeklies. Some of these articles are exceptionally well done. Their entertainment value is very high. Even though the Pakistani newspapermen do take some care in selecting items of this class, yet these writings can hardly be said to reflect Pakistani appraisals. Even if the discriminating readership of these articles is highly select, the foreign writers expound viewpoints not necessarily relevant to our national thinking. The uncritical and unwary may be unduly swayed by the colourful imagery and brilliant phraseology of these articles. It is very likely that their readers develop the habit of looking at the world through foreign eyes.

Regional histories have become an important subject of investigation since the birth of Pakistan. This is as it should be. It is a blatant fact that Pakistani areas have remained distinctively outside the mainstream of what has been generally called the history of the Indo-Pak sub-continent. During British rule the Muslim areas were denied the advantages both of education and development. The past of these regions was also allowed to remain in obscurity. The omission is being made good. But it is important that we do not create new loyalties that may soon develop into parochial bigotries. Nothing is easier than to foster insular sentiment or worship idols of the den. The plea is for a sense of proportion and proper ordering of loyalties. This is not

only essential but vital. Our unity is fundamental. Our disparities are minor and accidental. The point needs to be elaborated.

There was and is a logic behind the emergence of Pakistan. The country owes its origin to a united and determined effort on the part of Muslims to achieve their homeland. Regardless of their provincial or regional origins, the Muslims of the sub-continent were imbued with a sense of common purpose and a common destiny. Their group behaviour was a reality and a factor to be reckoned with. The Muslim courts in the Deccan, we know, drew their own conclusions from the fate of the Muslim ruler of Bengal in 1757. Tipu Sultan had a sense of the solidarity of the world of Islam. The work and mission of Sayed Ahmad Barelvi made a deep and identical impression in areas as widely separated as East and West Pakistan of today. What happened to Turkey from 1911 onwards created bonds of sympathy between large groups of Muslims from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Chittagong to Quetta. The tribulations of the Moplahs deeply moved their co-religionists in far-off corners of the sub-continent. We were untroubled by any problems of local identity in our struggle for freedom. In the eyes of others we were not Panjabis, Baluchis, Bengalis and Afghans but simply Muslims. Muslim leaders from Madras and Bihar gave more attention to the problem of Reforms in the Frontier or statutory Muslim majorities in the Panjab and Bengal than to the problems of their own provinces. The other factor that brought Pakistan into existence was the innate interest of the Muslims of this sub-continent in the stability and welfare of the Muslim world. This should be clear to anyone who cares to go to the record of the Muslim political thinking in the first four decades of the century. A Hindu writer of some distinction, Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, taunted his Muslim 'compatriots' in 1928 that they were more sensitive to the sufferings of earthquake victims in Anatolia than the problems of their neighbours next door. These are wellknown facts but they well bear repetition. I have only to add that the effort involved in retaining freedom under modern conditions is more strenuous than the effort involved in

achieving it. Let it be remembered that in his classical utterance of 1930, Iqbal had pointedly stated that the greatest peril facing the Muslim community was that it was fast losing its 'herd instinct'. The trend that the seer deplored continues to threaten our collective existence in a much greater degree than it did in Iqbal's day.

In an important respect the Pakistani historian faces an uphill task. He is confronted by a stream of curious books and pamphlets coming from abroad. Presented as scholarly, the political bias of these publications is ill-concealed. A Pakistani desiring to correct the impression created by these writings finds himself at a serious disadvantage. The way the War of 1965 was publicised in some capitals of the Western world clearly shows that any outsider can say the most fantastic things about this country and get away with it. Mr. Nirad C. Chaudhri unambiguously stated in one of his articles appearing in the *Statesman* dated 6 June, 1965 that no publishing house in an important Western country could be persuaded to assume responsibility for publishing a book critical of India's views on the politics of the sub-continent. This observation is, by no means, wide of the mark. On the other hand, some works of collective authoriship are allowed to carry untenable and crude confusion between facts and opinions. A book *Since 1945*, for instance, purporting to deal with aspects of contemporary World history and meant for the use of pupil teachers contains the following observations :

"The leaders of Pakistan could not afford to preach secularism to their followers. India maintained its hold over Kashmir. This gave additional impetus to the Hindus to practice as well as believe in secularism—Pakistan, on the other hand, became a theocratic Muslim state. Under the present Constitution of Pakistan, nobody but a Muslim can become the head of the state. Thus partly due to their religious background—tolerance of Hinduism and the intolerance of Islam—and partly due to the force of political circumstances the Hindus of India adopted

a secular constitution and the Muslims of Pakistan an Islamic Constitution."

The argument is interesting and can be easily stretched. Does it mean that it is essential to include many more diversities of racial types and religious beliefs in present-day India to strengthen the country's claim to secularism ? If that is the intention, the process may well lead to the establishment of an Asian empire under Indian hegemony.

A jounal of Politics and History published by a university press of a Commonwealth country carries the following information on Indo-Pakistan relations.

"Since its creation, Pakistan has exhibited a morbid hostility to India and Indian actions and polices in World affairs. This was not limited to the Pakistani Government but extended to the Press and the general public. In spite of the great restraint that the Indian Government has sought to impose on itself and its publicity organs, the Pakistani hostility has remained unabated—the Indian Government has gone out of its way to assuage the sense of insecurity by making categorical and repeated declarations that India has unreservedly accepted the Partition and has no desire to undo it."

These words appeared in cold print in October, 1966. that is to say, 13 months after the desperate Indian bid to force a military solution of Indo-Pakistan differences. Another article in the same journal pillories Mr. Harold Wilson for not retracting his 'unfriendly' statement on India's violating the international Indo-Pakistan border with the whole of its military might minus four divisions !

South Asian Studies Departments of some important universities do the same type of job and very much in the same spirit. Their catalogues of courses furnish us with good examples of suppression of facts and projection of prejudices. In the syllabus of a university, a paper on Twentieth Century Indian Political Thought named the late Vallabhai Patel and Shymaparshad

Mukherji as political thinkers. It is curious that not a single Muslim, not even a nationalist Muslim, was included in the list.

It is amazing to see how some very well known Western scholars, who indulge in minute analysis of concepts of nationality and democracy, and, subject them to endless refinements, quietly accept, at their face value, the exaggerated claims of certain organized and vocifereus political groups in this part of the world. Teaching positions in South Asian Studies are generally coming to be filled by those who can be pitilessly objective, but only at other people's expense while dressing up their own prejudices as facts of History and principles of Political Science.

Let me revert to some more subjects of domestic importance. There has been a great deal of experimenting with syllabi by the universities at both local and national levels. Participation in syllabus committees is a stimulating experience. A syllabus is only an attempt to determine our direction. It is not an end in itself, and it does not function automatically. A teacher alone can make it meaningful. The gains expected of the enforcement of new syllabi may be more than neutralised by indifferent teaching. This would be readily realised by any teacher of experience.

Advancement of learning is perhaps the most important function of a seat of higher learning; but research is not a matter of scissors and paste. It has got to be based on sound learning and presupposes a certain amount of basic maturity in the researcher. The type of student who could give a satisfactory account of himself as a research scholar immediately after completing his postgraduate studies is rare today, Those who come up to the standard usually drift into the civil service. I am frankly pessimistic about the future of research without a considerable improvement in the standards of teaching and examination.

The steady switchover to the national medium in the field of higher studies presents us with a challenge that has to be accepted. I am sure that we do not wish to continue to depend on the

writings of foreign authors to shape our opinions and determine our perspective. Much of the beneficial effect of the adoption of national languages would remain unrealised if we are merely going to translate standard historical works produced in other countries. What we need is a clearer grasp of our own values in the light of human development in other parts of the world.

Coming to our priorities in the field of history, as I see them, the first place should naturally go to a biography of the Quaid-i-Azam's. There has been some addition to the biographical literature on the Founder of the State. Some reminiscences or personal recollections, however minutely remembered and vividly recorded, cannot take the place of a full scale biography. I am not suggesting a work of collaboration. Such a work is apt to suffer from numerous drawbacks. It does not admit of a unified treatment of the subject and the picture of a great life that emerges from the contributions of a number of scholars would, at best, be blurred. Such work cannot maintain a steady perspective either.

Whenever we turn to the numerous articles on the Quaid-i-Azam or the Pakistan Movement published in our journals year after year, we cannot resist the conclusion that we have irremediably fallen into the habit of repeating old stories. It is possible to argue that we do not know enough about the Quaid-i-Azam. The majority of our writers seems to labour under the erroneous notion that the Quaid was distant from his community till the Congress came into power. That is why they begin his story only after the year 1937.

Most of the Indian writers have their own techniques of dealing with the Quaid. Thus, in the life story of one of his former associates at the Bombay Bar, Mr. Jaykar, the Quaid has come in for over a dozen passing references in the course of two fair sized volumes. But the author is singularly uncommunicative. His account seems just to suggest that the Quaid-i-Azam existed and grudges even an iota of positive information about a colleague who had achieved a towering stature in his early thirties. I am equally certain

that in popular thinking abroad Pakistan is inseparably linked with the personality of the Quaid-i-Azam. Paucity of information facilitates misrepresentation. So long as it is easy to misrepresent the founder of the country it will be easier to misrepresent the country itself. I believe the Quaid-i-Azam's biography is as important as the history of the freedom movement itself. The realization is not new. The need for a work of this kind has been always felt and repeatedly expressed. The Pakistan Historical Society could appropriately address itself to this project of national significance.

If the Pakistani historian is to meet his responsibilities, he needs to be equipped with original records. The time-honoured complaint about the dearth of records is genuine. The attempt of the Punjab University Historical Research Institute to set up a library of important microfilm records from England is a commendable step in that direction. But the matter has to be tackled at the national level. The recent proposal to set up an institute of historical and biographical research is welcome.

Such an institute should stock records, proceedings and despatches of the central and provincial governments, reports of legislative debates, private papers, newspapers and journals, gazetteers, annual registers, years books, census reports, police diaries, important revenue papers, records of judicial decisions, and minutes books of some exclusive clubs and so on. Needless to add that the relevent holdings of the India Office Library and records of the former Government of India would form the most significant feature of this collection. The record of political parties should rightfully belong to this organization, but the institute may fall short of our expectations if it is burdened with too many responsibilities.

On the paucity of records I may be permitted to make two observations of a general character. The first is that no systematic attempt has yet been made to locate our documentary resources. We have no satisfactory compendium of information about the location of our records and their contents. It was an experience

for me to go through a volume entitled *Archives of India* by S. Ghose giving a detailed account of the holdings of all the record offices in that country. We have yet to undertake a similar job of discovering, classifying and cataloguing. In the second place, whatever records we have are, generally speaking, not put to the maximum use. The entire files of the later 19th century periodicals lying with the Punjab University Library still await the attention of the research scholar. The enormous wealth of Bengali writings on History needs to be made available to scholars in West Pakistan. I am glad that the Research Society of Pakistan has some plans in this direction.

The need for a historical Atlas of Pakistani areas does not have to be explained at length. The project involves obvious difficulties and its completion may take considerable time. But we have to make a start. The task of preparing a Geographical Atlas of the country, I understand, was entrusted to a Board of Geographers long ago. The researches involved in preparing a Historical Atlas may help to explain some obscure periods of the history of our land and also assist in focussing attention on numerous historical problems.

The History of the Muslims for the last 150 years had been largely explained in political and ideological terms. It is a fascinating study, but we are, probably, overdoing it. Negotiations between political parties, clashes of leadership, signing of pacts, repudiation of commitments, clandestine deals and gentleman's agreements, the tyranny of a majority, pompous declarations of leaders, and acts of administrative discrimination have a dramatic quality about them. The value of this study can best be appreciated by those who have lived close to events. The younger generation, so far as I have been able to understand, wants to know more about the subject. The reconstruction of the economic history of the Muslims of the sub-continent or, at least, of the Muslims of the Pakistani areas, is probably vital in this context. It should throw new light on our struggle for independence. The economic argument may strengthen the political argument in an important

way. How far we were consciously motivated by economic considerations in struggle for freedom, may be a matter of argument. But we have so far ignored a meaningful study of the economic factor in our past. Some of the aspects and facts of unconscionable and extortionate landlordism, peasant indebtedness in the Punjab and Bengal, and the inefficacy of the tenancy legislation, have features of history well-worth narrating in full. A study of the antecedents of the Punjab Land Alienation Act and of how the Panjab peasantry was cheated of its beneficent effects at the hands of an indifferent executive and a hostile judiciary should be a rewarding study, and in these days when historians are turning more and more to economics, we cannot afford to neglect this aspect of our history.

Our students as well as specialists need a series of books of documents. The study of original sources is coming to be emphasised more and more and rightly so. It gives an insight into events that secondary resources cannot possibly do. However, a great deal of care has to be exercised in the selection of original materials if the student is not to get a distorted picture.

Unfortunately, some books of documents published abroad either exclude the Muslim part of history or present it in ungenerous terms. The result is that the Muslims are often made to appear as lackeys of Britain and their leaders a bunch of political reactionaries anxious, above all, for the strength and safety of British dominion over the sub-continent. In a book of documents, we come across the following:

John Morley to Lord Minto on the Muslims, 11 October, 1906.

'About the Mahometans, two or three views have interested me.

1. I asked Maclean, the C.J., of the Calcutta High Court, could he tell me of a really first-class Mahometan Judge? No: not one.

2. Same question to Stephen, a judge in the same Court. Same answer: not even first-class Mahometan barrister or pleader. Stephen also did not think Mahometans, who came under notice

of the Court, were a whit less addicted to perjury than Hindus, and their morals were damnable.

3. MacMahon, who has had plenty to do with Mahometans, thinks not well of them as an element in the State: they are absolutely moveless and without any principle of Reform in them: Much more chance from the Hindus, heathen as they are: So said he.'

The extract seems to give the impression that the Muslims did not count for anything and that what they said was not worthy of notice.

The introduction of area studies in our University curricula is overdue. This branch of studies has already made considerable headway at Western seats of learning. The relevant departments of some American Universities are so organized as to include specialists on all parts of the world. It is possible that in some cases, they do not achieve a very high degree of specialization but the fact remains that a reasonably well-informed scholar is available for consultation in almost any field. Our resources would not admit of such ambitious plans, but we can advantageously start with areas in which we are vitally interested. The study of the R.C.D. countries is an obvious example. We can even make a beginning by introducing courses on Pakistan studies. Some years ago a proposal to this effect did emanate from the Ministry of Education. Some sort of preparatory work was also done in this connection. Where the plan stands at the moment is not known. But it needs to be resuscitated and enforced. Needless to add that area studies would be an inter-disciplinary affair in which the Departments of History would play a pivotal part. This would remedy a situation in which the opportunities afforded are not commensurate with the demands upon the historian. This kind of study should impart breadth as well as depth to historical studies. The knowledge could be put to important national uses.

The case for the preservation of a faithful and accurate record of our national life (in the form of an Annual Register) is self-evident and does not have to be argued at length.

The old Indian Register was a compendium of source materials for the professional historian as well as the student. But we have not, so far, been able to bring out a comparable publication in Pakistan. It is not, therefore. unlikely that some important facts of our recent past have already been forgotten or otherwise gone into oblivion. I know of quite a few cases in which our students working on the problems of Pakistan could not easily obtain materials relating even to the 50s. A work of reference containing a factual, unbiased and analytical account of the country, prepared from year to year, would command respect abroad and become an indispensable handbook for workers in numerous fields of study and research, now as well as afterwards.

These suggestions are offered in the hope that they will command your attention and support.

CANADIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

by

MAJOR C. C. J. BOND, CANADA

And now for a brief word about Canadian historiography. Despite brilliant earlier essays in economic history, such as Harold Innis' studies of the fur trade and the cod fisheries, Canadians as late as the 1940's used a work by an American, published in the United States, as a general history text of Canada. In 1944 appeared Donald G. Creighton's *Dominion of the North: a history of Canada.* Creighton concentrated on the economic, political and cultural factors that have enabled the country to resist the tendency to absorption by a rich and powerful neighbour. Two years later appeared Arthur R.M. Lower's *Colony to Nation*, in which the American environment is interpreted as the chief determinant of Canadian history. Since then Edgar McInnis, J.M.S. Careless, W.L. Morton and others have written other general histories, of varying interpretation. Authoritative, detailed histories of the French period, by Marcel Trudel and Gustave Lanctot, are appearing regularly. Lanctot won the first award of the Corey prize, in 1967, with his work on Canada and the American Revolution. Fernand Ouellet has written a brilliant economic history of Lower Canada (Quebec) in the first half of the 19th Century. The American Mason Wade's monumental work on the French-Canadians has just been issued in revised form. Wade was president of the Canadian Historical Association in 1964. Mention should be made of the seventeen volumes of Canadian history called the Centennial Series, under the editorship of W.L. Morton, published by McClelland & Stewart in Toronto. The Centennial stimulated an unparalleled production of historical works in Canada.

The annual meeting of the Association is held in June each year at some city in Canada, chosen in such a manner that the locale oscillates each year between the geographical extremes and the centre. In 1964, the hundredth anniversary of the Charlottetown Conference, at which the preliminary ideas of confederation were drawn up, it was held in that capital of the province Prince Edward Island, at the eastern seaboard. In 1965 Vancouver in British Columbia on the western coast was the host ; in 1966 it was the new Universite de Sherbrooke in the province of Quebec ; and, appropriately for 1967, the hundredth anniversary of confederation, the association moved to the capital, Ottawa, in Ontario, the Ottawa River, the border between that province and the province of Quebec. This year the meeting will be held in the western prairie province of Alberta, at Calgary, June 6-9. As has been the custom, the meeting will be held in conjunction with meetings of other learned bodies, in a grouping entitled, The Learned Societies. It will bring together historians, teachers and students of history from all parts of Canada and the United States. A limited fund is made available annually by the Social Science Research Council of Canada to aid members, not otherwise assisted by their university or institution, to travel to the meeting. This year some twenty five papers, each the product of original research will be given over a three-day period. Normally, papers dealing with topics in differing fields, such as Canadian, European and Commonwealth History, are given more or less simultaneously in different rooms, so that the groups are usually no larger than 80-100, and electronic amplification is not necessary. Many of the papers presented at these meetings are printed in an annual publication entitled "Papers presented at the..."

Relations between the Canadian Historical Association and the American Historical Association are warm and friendly. A joint session of the two associations is held at the time of the annual meeting of each society. A joint committee was set up in 1961 to advance Canadian-American historical studies. The

work of this committee culminated in the holding of the American Historical Association's general meeting in the city of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, in 1967, honouring our 100th anniversary. At this meeting the first award of the Albert B. Corey prize for a work in Canadian-American relations was made ; honouring an eminent American killed tragically in a highway accident, the award is made up of the income from a fund collected jointly in the two countries.

The Association publishes a series of historical booklets, comprising short monographs designed to provide the general reader, the teacher and the historical specialist with concise and trenchant discussions of particular questions in Canadian history. So great has been the success of this venture that we have been able to make rapid progress toward the establishment of a fund, the income from which will pay for the expenses of the executive to travel to meetings of Council, which take place usually at the end of October, in Ottawa, and to other meetings. The booklets sell for 50 Cents, about Rs. 2 The Association has also sponsored a historical atlas of Canada and assumed an advisory role in its publication. The Association maintains a close relationship with the *Canadian Historical Review*, which is published quarterly by the University of Toronto Press, and with *La Revue d'Histoire de l' Amerique francaise.* In addition, the Association sponsors the publication of the *Canadian Archivist* and, in conjunction with the Public Archives of Canada, of an annual *Register of Dissertations.*

The Local History Section of the Association grants certificates of Merit annually to persons, groups and societies who have made an outstanding achievement in some phase of local history.

The Archives Section formulated plans for a four-week course in archival principles and administration ; this was first given in June, 1959, under the sponsorship of Carleton University, Ottawa. These courses continue. The Archives Section has also undertaken a survey of selected archival repositories with a view to compiling a list of manuscript sources of a political

nature. This project has resulted in the preparation of a catalogue of *Political Papers in Canadian Archives*, which lists some 300 individual units of manuscript material. The Humanities Research Council has agreed, in association with the Public Archives and the Archives Section of the Canadian Historical Association, to sponsor a project known as the *Union List of Manuscripsts in Canadian Repositories.* The master catalogue is housed in the Manuscript Division of the Public Archives of Canada.

A Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which has been sitting in Ottawa since 1964 and which will shortly issue its plenary report, has indicated in a preliminary report that history has been taught differently in French Canada as compared with English Canada. There has been bias on both sides. In an endeavour to bring about some rapprochement between historians of the two cultures, the Canadian Historical Association in 1966 sought and obtained from the Centennial Commission of the Government of Canada a grant in the amount of $ 62,300. Administered by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, this fund enabled our Association to hold eight regional week-long seminars of a bilingual nature, in centres across Canada, three in 1966 and five in 1967. Each seminar was composed of a chairman, a group of three or four eminent scholars, senior historians, promising junior historians, and graduate students, of French and English expression. Some 30 in number. Keynote talks of a provocative nature in the field of biculturalism unleashed discussion which sometimes was prolonged. At mid-week a day-long bus journey through the region, under the guidance of a geographer, was held. The fund served to pay travel expenses and honoraria to senior participants; host universities agreed to provide bed and food to participants. The locales of the 1967 seminars were, from west to east, University of Victoria, in Victoria on Vancouver Island, British Columbia ; University of Saskatchewan at Saskatoon, Saskatchewan ; Laurentian University at Sudbury, a mining town in northern Ontario ; Universite, Laval at Quebec in la belle province de Quebec and

at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland. Among my fellow participants at Universite Laval was Dr. A. A. Zia, a Pakistani historian from Laurentian University.

And now a brief word about Canadian historiography. I hasten to add that this is written from memory, far from source materials. I hope errors or omissions will be excused. Despite brilliant essays in economic history, such as Harold Innes' studies of the fur trade and the cod-fisheries, Canada had no Canadian written history of the nation until the appearance of Arthur Lower's *Colony to Nation*, about 1942. Since then have appeared conservative treatises like Donald G. Creighton's *Dominion of the North* and W. L Marton's *The Kingdom of Canada*, with contrasting works by Edgar McInnes and J. M. S. Careless. Authoritative, detailed histories of the French and early English periods by Morcel Trudel and Gustave Lanctot are appearing regularly. Lanctot won the first award of the Corey Prize in 1967 with his work on Canada and the American Revolution.

Fernand Quellet has written a masterly economic interpretation of Lower Canada (Quebec) in the first half of the 19th Century. The American Mason Wade's monumental work on the French-Canadians has just been re-issued. He was President of the Canadian Historical Association in 1964. Mention should be made of the seventeen volumes of Canadian history called the Centennial Series, under the editorship of W. L. Morton, published by McClelland & Stewart in Toronto. The Centennial stimulated an unparalleled production of historical works in Canada.

The military history of our people has been ably told in a number of volumes written by or under the direction of Colonel Charles P. Stacey of the Army Historical Section, now at the University of Toronto. Sydney Wise carries on his work at the new integrated Armed Forces Directorate of History. Dean George F. G. Stanley of Royal Military College, Kingston, has written a fine text-book called *Canada's Soldiers* and J. MacKay Hitsman has published a work on our 1812-14 war with the United States

and another on British military policy in Canada. James Eayrs has studied military policy in this century.

In the field of biography mention could be made of Creighton's two volume life of Sir John A. Macdonald, our first prime minister. George Stanley, Guy Fregault and W. J. Eccles have written works on French figures. Arthur Lower has produced a tentative social history entitled *Canadians in the Making*. The first volume of the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, published simultaneously in English by the University of Toronto Press and in French by Leo Presses de l' Universite Laval, has recently appeared; it covers individuals who died before the year 1700. Among the biographies are those of some of the Red Indians of note. This great project has been made possible by the generosity of a Toronto industrialist.

Two national historical atlases have appeared since 1961; one, by D. G. G. Kerr in both French and English, and one by W. J. Eccles; Marcel Trudel is about to republish his *Atlas historique du Canada francais*.

I feel certain you will have listened with interest to my words, making comparisons, seeing parallels, thinking of our similar ways of doing things learned from Britain in the past. I have certainly felt like that listening to papers presented here by your members. That past link is breaking up and new influences are coming to bear. It is fortunate that we have come together now, and with such warm feelings as I sense here. May the cultural relationship between Canada and Pakistan, built on a common language on a feeling for our common heritage and on a shared understanding of certain similarities in the problems we face in life, prosper and grow stronger in the future.

THE SA'UDI DYNASTY AND WAHHABISM[1]

by

DR. MUHAMMAD SAID AL-SHAAFY, SAUDI ARABIA

Politically Arabia of the eighteenth century was almost independent of the Ottoman rule. So we find that the Hejaz was ruled by the Sharīfian family—except Jidda where the Turkish government maintained a Pasha, or, during the pilgrimage, when the influence of the Porte came into play under the Emir al-Hajj.

In East Arabia the Banu Khalid had managed to take possession of al-Hasa province together with Qatif. Nejd was under independent town-state princes who had nothing in common with their close neighbours and above all they were in perpetual war with each other. In addition to this, the wild freedom of the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, their endless wars and predatory raids, rendered Nejd and the surrounding country a scene of continual disorder and bloodshed.

This, in brief, was the political condition of Arabia when the Sa'udi state was established by the conclusion of an alliance between Muhammad b. Sa'ud and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab in 1744.

The Sa'udi dynasty traced its ancestry to Man'i al-Muraidi who inhabited the village of al-Dur'u better known as al-Dar'iya, a suburb in al-Qatif. Owing to an exchange of letters between Man'i al-Muraidi and his cousin Ibn Dir'a who had settled down in the hamlets of Jiz'a and Hajar, near al-Riyadh, Mani' in 1446 joined his cousin Ibn Dir'a, who presented him with the fiefs of Ghasiba and al-Muhaibih which came to be known in later years

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1 This term of Wahhabism is unknown in Arabia. However this term is employed by then temporary opponents and later was adopted by Western scholars.

as al-Dar'iya. And it was Man'i son of Rabi'a who succeeded in winning over some part of the neighbouring dominions. When Rabi'a died, he was succeeded by his son Musa who subsequently was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. When the latter died, he left behind several sons; among them were 'Abd al-Raḥman, 'Abd Allah, Saif and Markhan. Through Markhan's younger son Muqrin came Muḥammad the father of the first Sa'ud whom the chiefdom of al-Dar'iya passed some time before 1720. Following the death of Sa'ud b. Muhammad b. Muqrin b. Markhan, his son Muhammad b. Sa'ud succeeded him in the amirate of al-Dar'iya about 1726-1727. This man accepted M. b. 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings and promised to propagate them even by force. Accordingly, a pact of alliance between the two men was concluded in 1744, by which they pledged themselves to bring back the Muslim community to the state of religion, morals and manners of the early Islamic state. The foundation of the first Sa'udi state in Arabia began with that date. It was from this date that these families were associated in directing the affairs of the state; the Sa'udi family took charge of political affairs, while the family of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab were responsible for religious affairs.

Thus it may be of value here to give a short account of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab and his teaching. He was born at al-'Ayaina in 1703. He belonged to a Hanbali theologian's family. His grandfather had been Mufti of Najd and his father Qaḍi of al-'Ayaina. At the hand of the latter Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab received his first education; then he later decided to travel to the Hejaz to make the pilgrimage. Having done that, Muḥammad proceeded to Medina where he studied under the guidance of Shaikh 'Abd Allah. b. Ibrahim, b. Saif and Shaikh Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi al-Madani. The latter was advocating a reopening of *Ijtihad.* Afterwards he planned to go to Damascus, the homeland of the Hanbali School, but instead he made for al-Baṣra where he studied under Shaikh Muḥammad al-Majmu'i.

At al-Basra Ibn 'Abd Al-Wahhab spoke in public against idolatry and the veneration of saints, and as a result he was compelled to leave the town. He then made his way on foot to al-Zubair where he stayed for a short time, later proceeding to al-Hasa and finally he went to Huraimala to rejoin his father who had been deposed by the new chief of al-'Ayaina, Muhammad b. Ahmad better known as Kharfash.

By the year 1740 Muhammad b. 'Abd Al-Wahhāb came out openly as a reformer, but soon he had to leave Huraimala because of opposition and he returned to his birth place at al-'Ayaina where he won to his side 'Uthman b. Mu'ammar, the chief of the town. With 'Uthman's assistance Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb cut down sacred trees and some domes of tombs were destroyed—such as the dome of Zaid b. al-Khattab at Jubaila.

However, on receiving the news of 'Abd al-Wahhab's activities, Sulaiman b. Ghurayr, the chief of al-Hasa and the Banū Khalid tribe, whose authority extended to al-Hasa, Qatif and al-'Arid, wrote to 'Uthman threatening to withhold the payment of 'Uthman's income from his estates in al-Hasa province unless he got rid of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, who consequently took refuge in al-Dar'iya in 1744.

As to his teaching, he writes that the definition of our belief is the following: We describe God as He Himself and His Prophet have done. We do not transgress the terms of the Qur'ān and the Hadith. We consider as infidels those who compare God to His creatures quite as much as those who refuse to accept the description that God has given of Himself through the voice of His prophet. Muhammad[P] has said of Him: God is not comparable to anything. He hears all and sees all. Glory to Him whose names none other may bear and who has not His like who is the one who knows Himself best and who best knows others, the one who puts the most sincerity into His words.

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab condemned the veneration of saints, all innovations and pilgrimages to shrines, because

it is forbidden to saddle a mount to go elsewhere than to the great mosques of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Those who make a vow to things or beings, and worship saints, are *Mushrikun* (polytheists). The Qur'ān says, "Those who go astray and call upon others beside God shall not be answered even until the day of judgement; and those on whom they call shall not need them; and when mankind shall rise again from the dead, they will look upon their supplicators as their enemies, and their worship as infidelity".

As regards innovation (*Bid'a*) Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb considered that all the practices which were introduced after the third generation from the Prophet were absolutely sinful, *e.g.*, the building of domes on tombs, the wearing of silken clothing, smoking and music, especially that which accompanied the pilgrims.

On the otherhand, no sooner had Muhammad b. Sa'ud and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab concluded the alliance of 1744 than they began to invite their neighbours to accept their doctrine and authority. As a result of this, the settlements of al-'Ayaina Huraimala, Dhurmah and Manfuha accepted the invitation and joined the ranks of the Sa'udi state, while other parts of Nejd, especially Riyadh, refused to offer their submission and Riyadh started hostilities by attacking the Sa'udis. Al-Ahsa, like Riyadh, declared its opposition to the Sa'udi state. The Sa'udis had to carry the war into their enemies' territory and by the time that Muhammad b. Sa'ud died in 1765, most parts of Al-'Aridh, Washm and Sudair had offered their submission. Following the death of Muhammad b. Sa'ud, his son 'Abd al-'Aziz succeeded him in the leadership of the nation and continued to follow his father's policy by attacking Riyadh which, after long resistance, held out for some twenty eight years (1745-1773) before submitting to the Sa'udi state. And by 1789 all Najd had offered its loyalty to the Sa'udis.

However, during the lifetime of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, 'Abd al-'Aziz was in complete harmony with the former, so that Ibn

'Abd al-Wahhab issued orders to all provinces and tribes to acknowledge and accept Sa'ud, the son of 'Abd al-'Aziz as their future chief. On the other hand, when Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab died, his son Husain succeeded him as the head of religious affairs in 1792.

When 'Abd al-'Aziz died in 1803 the Sa'udi state had been acknowledged in Najd, al-Hasa, 'Oman, 'Asir and most parts of the Hejaz. He was succeeded by his son Sa'ud as the head of state and to him was attributed the capture of the Holy cities and the increase in the Sa'udi state's power—so considerable an increase that the Sublime Porte issued orders to the pashas of Baghdad and Syria to attack the Sa'udis and destroy their capital al-Dar'iya. Finally the porte authorized Muhammad 'Ali to march against the Sa'udi state. Unfortunately Sa'ud the Great died in 1814. He was followed by his son 'Abd Allah who tried to stop the invaders, but in vain. The Saudis dominions were taken one after another until al-Dar'iya itself was carried by storm and 'Abd Allah was captured in 1818 and put to death later. This date represents the fall of the first Sa'udi state.

In spite of the fact that the Turks succeeded militarily in destroying the first Sa'udi state, its religious teachings survived among its adherents. These adherents and their children were to await the advent of a new leader and inspirer who would continue the work of purifying Islam and extending the influence of the purer religious regime over other Muslim lands. Indeed, there was to be a second Wahhabi movement which succeeded in completing the task almost entirely throughout Arabia.

Before I come to end of talk, I would like to lay stress on the following points:

(1) The Sa'udi military activities which were carried out against the neighbouring countries were wholly based on religious motives because the aim of the Sa'udi state was to restore the Islamic religion to its purity and simplicity according to the Qur'ān

and the traditions. In this sense, the Sa'udis condemned innovations, saint-worship, vows and pilgrimage to shrines because these are partly *Shirk* and partly *Bid'a.*

(2) Their aim was to establish an Islamic state on the model of the first Islamic state which was set up under the first orthodox Caliphs, and to adopt its system of administration particularly in respest of the systems of finance and justice.

THE LACUNA IN BAYHAQI*

by

Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi, Karachi

In the MS of *Tārīkh-i-Mas'ūdī* of Bayhaqi there is a lacuna which occurs at the place where the news of the successful expedition to Banaras conducted by the Hind-viceroy, Aḥmad Yināltigīn, and his subsequent rebellion was conveyed at Nishāpūr to the Ghaznah government[1].

We are somewhere about the close of Hijra 424 (1033) in the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, son and successor of Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Subuktigīn.

The lacuna was first pointed out by Morley[2]. Reference to this lacuna was repeated by Elliot and Dowson[3]. The first detailed study of the lacuna, was, however, made by Hodivala[4]. Writing fifteen years before Hodivala, Barthold also pointed out this lacuna[5]. Sa'id Nafīsī (died last year) in his edition of *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqī* also refers to the lacuna but with no details[6]. Dr. Ghani and Fayyaz, however, have not said a word about this lacuna although their edition of the book dates 1945.

It may be pointed out here that out of thirty volumes of Bayhaqi's *Tārīkh* only about five volumes and a half have come down to us. With the help of all the available original Arabic and Persian sources and secondary sources Sa'īd Nafīsī in his last

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* Read at the 16th Session, Pakistan History Conference, Karachi, 1968.

1 *Tarīkh-i-Bayhaqī*, ed. Ghani & Fayyaz, Tehran, 1324, p. 402.

2 His edition of Bayhaqī Calcutta, 1862.

3 *History of India*, etc., Calcutta, 1952, Vol. III, pp. 52 and 115.

4 *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, pp. 161-62.

5 *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, London, 1928, p. 297, fn.

6 Tehran, 1319-32/1940-53, Vol. I, p. 152.

(?) book *Dar Piramun-i-Bayhaqi*[1] ("In the Environs of Bayhaqi") has tried to replenish in an outline the missing portions of Bayhaqī. Even here the lacuna problem is not touched.

In our review we shall try to locate the following :—

1. Such historical details of the period which have been lost because of the lacuna.
2. the exact period involved in the lacuna.

To begin with, it appears, that the lacuna in the MS was not detected by the copyists and later Persian historians for the simple facts :

1. That the last month mentioned in the pre-lacuna period was *Rajab*, while the month first mentioned in the post lacuna period was *Jumadi* II. Of course, *Rajab* follows *Jumadi* II, but in Bayhaqi such instances are not lacking where month-wise chronological order is not maintained at certain times. All relevant details of a particular affair are put together even though they might not have chronological continuity.

2. Overlooking the lacuna, the present arrangement runs thus :

(a) Dealing with the events of *Rajab* 424 the report of the rebellion on the part of Hind-viceroy is mentioned ;

(b) 'About the same time' the death of a hostage, Satī by name, is mentioned ;

(c) the departure of the Wazir from Ghaznah to Balkh is given ; and

(d) the rebellion on the part of the Hind-viceroy is again mentioned.

If one neglects the two short notices of Satī and the *Wazīr*, the rest of the description, being the rebellion in Hind, appears to be one continuous story. Such a conclusion was not ruled out because the viceroy had revolted twice, first in *Rajab* 424 and the

1 Tehran, 1342/1964, in two volumes.

second time in *Shawwāl* 425. But the commencement of the year 425 not forming part of the MS, because of the lacuna, the months of Rajab and Shawwal appeared to belong to the same year, viz. 424.

Dowson following Morley states[1] that 'about a page and a half is missing' at page 498 of the MS[2]. This estimate of the lacuna was considered 'conservative and misleading' by Hodivala. He remarks, "The lacuna is much more extensive and embraces the chronicle of no less than eleven months".

Hodivala has established the extent of the lacuna to eleven months, on the basis of the following arguments :

(1) The last month mentioned is of *Rajab* 424,

(2) The fresh month mentioned is *Jumadi* II,

(3) Then subsequently, *Ramaḍān* 425 is mentioned, and

(4) Bayhaqī meticulously registers the week day on which the first *Muḥarram* of any year falls. This he has done in case of 422, 423, 424, 426, and so on, but not for 425. Because of the missing pages such a reference is not forthcoming in Bayhaqi.

Thus Hodivala concludes, "......the events of the later half of 424 and the first five months of 425 find no place in the extent portion of his history"[3].

So far so good. Still the problem does not end here, because neither Hodivala nor Sa'īd Nafīsī has provided the historical details which must have formed part of the missing chronicle. An humble attempt, which is neither exhaustive nor final, is being made in the following pages to recapitulate the lost portions of Baihaqi, *i. e.*, a survey of about nine months' history of the various regions of the empire of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah :

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1 Elliot & Dowson, Vol. III, p. 52.

2 Asiatic Society of Bengal, Biblotheca Indica Text series.

3 Hodivala, p. 162.

1. *Central Asia*: At the Battle of Dabūsī (*Jumadi* II, 432/1032) a shaky peace was concluded between 'Alītigīn, the ruler of Bukhārā and the Ghaznawids. What happened onwards till *Jumadi* II, 425, the date when according to the post-lacuna period, the Sulṭān sent the Wazīr to pacify the area, is missing in Bayhaqi. Previous to Dabūsī, the relations between 'Alītigīn the uncle and (Sulaymān) Arslan Khān (Bughrā Tigīn) b. Qadir Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar, and Bughrā Khān, his two nephews, were not cordial. It appears that this unexpected invasion from Ghaznah was an eye opener to 'Alītigīn and this probably forced him 'to cultivate closer relations with the members of his family and to recognise their overlordship"[1]. This conclusion of Barthold is based on the evidence provided by Markov that at this stage the coins struck at Bukhara bore the names of the two brothers[2]. Alitigin being not favourably disposed towards the Saljuks, they have lately migrated to Khwarizm on the invitation of its ruler Hārūn b. Altuntāsh. Because of the lacuna it is not clear whether these differences were ever patched up between the two common enemies of Ghaznah. *Rajab* 424 to *Jumadi* I, 425 being the actual period of the rise of the Saljuk power, (and it is here that the lacuna occurs) it is not wrong to presume that Alītigīn was to have supported the Saljuks against the Ghaznawids.

2. *Iraq, Rayy and Isfahan*: About the middle of 424 Mas'ūd received complaints against Ṭāhir Dabīr, the governor of Iraq (with Rayy as capital) and Tāsh Farrāsh, the military commander of the province. Simultaneously, hostile activities on the part of Ibn Kakawaih, the Shi'ah vassal at Isfahan, were also reported. A few pages earlier than the lacuna Bayhaqi informs us that in place of Ṭāhir Dabīr, Bū Suhayl Hamdawi was appointed as the new Viceroy of Iraq with instructions to keep watch over the activities of '*pisar-i-Kaku*'. Then Bayhaqi is silent. It is only

1 Barthold, p. 296.

2 A. K. Markov (his Catalogue of Central Asain Muslim Coins in Russian language), pp. 251-52.

Ibn al-Athir who informs us of the praiseworthy administrative measures on the part of the new Viceroy : removal of unjust taxes, restoration of law and order and full dispensation of justice. Later on Mas'ūd himself visited the area and the population felt further secured and satisfied[1].

3. *The Daylami vassal at Sa'va.*[2] While unfolding the events of 424 Bayhaqī mentions about one Shi'ah vassal at Sava[3]. Ibn al-Athīr mentions his name as Shahriwash b. Wālkin, while Bayhaqi spells it out as Shahra Nush b. Guhār Agīn[4]. He has rebelled against the authority of Ghaznah (*bād dar sar karda*) and has annexed Qazwin. An army was dispatched against him[5]. We are not told then by Bayhaqī as to the fate of the expedition and of the rebel chief, because of the lacuna. Ibn al-Athīr, continuing the narrative, has completed the gap According to him the campaign lasted almost upto the close of the year. It was brought to the notice of Mas'ūd that the Ḥajj routes for the population of Khurasān and the adjoining areas were made unsafe through the depredations of Shahriwash. He was besieged in his fortress of Fustaq, near Qum, was taken prisoner and was publicly hanged on the town wall for the religious crime[6].

4. *The Province of Khwarizm*: We know that Hārūn b. Altūntāsh, the Governor, was not happy with the centre over the appointment of Mas'ūd's son Sa'id as his overlord and, subsequently, of 'Abd al-Jabbār b. 'Abd al-Samad as his *Wazīr* in *Muharram* 424/Dec. 1032. The *Wazir* and Ḥārūn disliked each other and soon started quarreling over provincial affairs. Hārūn's

1 Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil*, (Cairo, n. d.) ed. Muṣtafā Muhammad, Vol. VIII, p. 4.

2 About the beginning of 5th Hijra century there were several Shi'ah principalities in the centre of Persia and in the west of Khurāsān and in the south of Caspian Sea.

3 In Arabic *Savat*, a town situated roughly between Raiy and Hamadan.

4 For the identification of the names vide Bayhaqi, p. 361, fn. 3 of the editors.

5 Bayhaqi (ed. Ghani and Fayyaz), p. 361.

6 Ibn al-Athir, Vol. VIII, p. 4.

dislike for the Centre started somewhere in *Jumadi* II, 424 [1]. From this time onward till the receipt of the news of the mysterious death of his brother Satī at Ghaznah, we do not know how Hārūn made common cause with 'Alītigīn of Bukhārā and the Saljuks against the Gazna government and through what steps he gained so much strength as not only to make open rebellion but even to make preparations to invade Merv, one of the nerve centres of Mas'udian empire. The lacuna has made this difficult. Other historians are also silent. However, the offer of Hārūn to the Saljuks to settle in his territory is forthcoming[2].

5. *Jurjān and Ṭabaristān*: Because of the lacuna certain progressive information dealing with the relations of Abū Kālanjar, the vassal, with the imperial court is missing. Till the last report came in[3], these relations are extremely cordial because Mas'ud has recently married a daughter of this vassal[4]. But in *Shawwāl* 425, in post-lacuna period, we suddenly find Abū Kalanjar in secret league with his Shi'ah kinsman Ibn Kakawaih of Isfahan, another vassal of Mas'ud. He also withholds the payment of the tribute[5]. The reasons for this change in Abu Kalanjar's attitude is not told even by other historians such as Gardīzi, Isfandyār and Mar'ashī,[6] although the last two are local histories.

6. *Hind Possessions*: If the pre-lacuna and post-lacuna portions are pieced together[7], it would appear that Mas'ūd visited his Hind possessions only but once and that too in the seventh year of his reign, which is, obviously, wrong. Of course,

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1 Bayhaqi, p. 680. His words are: *tang dil shud wa sabrash bi rasīd.*

2 Bayhaqī, pp. 445, 687.

3 *Ibid*, p. 376.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. VIII, p. 9.

6 Gardīzi, *Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. M. Nazim, Berlin, 1928, Ibn Isfandyar, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabaristan*, trans. Borwne, London, 1905.

Mar'ashī, Zahīr al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭabaristān-o-Ruyān-o-Māzaudarānn*, ed. A. Shayan, Tehran, 1333/1954.

7 Baihaqi, pp. 4o~3.

this gap is filled by the information supplied to us by Athīr, Gardizi and Firishta[1]. Mas'ūd not only visited Hind about the close of 424 but stayed there upto the beginning of 425. He defeated his rebel governor Ahmad Yinaltigin and also conducted Jihad against such important forts as Sarsuti and Naghsi. He intended to continue *Jihād* in distant areas of Hind but had to return to the capital because of the Saljuk disturbances.

7. *The Saljuks* : In pre-lacuna period Bayhaqi reports that during *Rabī'* II—*Rajab*, 424 the Saljuks several times invaded the plains of Khurāsān and caused damage to the imperial forces, standing crops and adjoining areas[2]. Here for all practical purposes the Saljuk description comes to an end. The first reference to the Saljuks in the post-lacuna chronicle is about the middle of 425, when, they are reported to have gained much strength during the interval. We do not know these details. It appears that this was the very period (*Rajab* 424 to *Jumadi* II, 425) when Hārūn of Khwārizm collaborated with the Saljuks against the Ghaznah government; they were also being secretly helped by 'Alitigin[3]. Even Rāwandī[4], the authority on the Saljuks, does not come to our rescue. In pre-lacuna chronicle Bayhaqi promises us to relate later on the consequences of trying to arrest the Turkomans[5]. Such a description should have formed part of the missing pages.

In short, it is now clear that the lacuna is much more extensive than it was previously thought of. Historical date of about nine months dealing with at least seven different provinces

1 Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. VIII, pp. 4, 6.
Gardīzī, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
Firishtah, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, ed. M. Briggs and K. Ali, Bombay, 1831. Vol. I, 71.

2 Baihaqi, p. 397.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 433.

4 Rawandi, *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr wa Āyāt al-Surūr*, ed. Muhammad Iqbāl, London, 1921. It is an exclusive history of the Saljuks.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 400.

of the empire is missing. I think that at least 35 to 40 pages, or even more, are missing from the *Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqī*.

As regards the exact period of the lacuna my observations are:

1. The last date mentioned in pre-lacuna chronicle is Rajab 5, 424, the time when the imperial camp leaves Bust for Hirat. Two pages later the movement of the camp is reported from Hirat to Nīshāpur: On the last page of the pre-lacuna chronicle the imperial camp is shown at Nishapur where the news of the rebellion on the part of Hind-viceroy is received. It appears that the month of Rajab is still not run out; otherwise Baihaqi was sure to mention the *gharrah* of *Sha'bān*. Thus the pre-lacuna period deals up to the end of *Rajab* 424 (June, 1033).

2. Satī b. Altūntāsh, the brother of Hārūn (the governor of Khwarazm) died at Ghaznah as a result of a fall from house top. Mischief-Mongers led Hārūn to beleive that Mas'ūd had a hand in it. Ḥārūn, who was already suspicious of the designs of the Centre, now openly revolted. To me the death of Satī belongs to the post-lacuna period for various reasons. Firstly, because Barthold remarks that, "Before the account of this event there is a blank space in all the MS; in the Tehran edition of A. H. 1307 (p. 410) we find three lines which are not in Morley's edition"[1]. Secondly, the hostages live at the permanent capital and do not move along with the imperial court. Thus Satī died at Ghazna. Thirdly, the sorrow which Mas'ud expressed and his alleged involvement in the death are clearly the occurances of the place of the incident. The paraphrasing of Baihaqi is clear on the point. Fourthly, Satī's death cannot belong to pre-lacuna period because at that time the Sulṭān is at Nīshāpur and Bayhaqī does not say that the news of his death was received at the camp. Fifthly. the next event in post-lacuna chronicle (Satī's being the first) is the departure of the Wazir from Ghaznah to

1 Barthold, p. 297, fn. 3.

Balkh. In this description of Bayhaqī it is clear that Mas'ūd is of late at Ghaznah.

3. Bayhaqī opens the incident of Satī with the words, " a strange affair which occured in the meantime".[1] For the departure of the *Wazir* 4th *Jumadi* II (A. H. 425/May, 1034) has been given as the date. Sati's affair, therefore, belongs prior to *Jumadi* II, *i.e.*, an occurance of *Jumadi* I (April, 1034) at least. Thus the lacuna is of nine months, keeping in view the end of *Rajab*, 424 when Yinālitigīn's first rebellion was reported and the affair of Satī belonging to *Jumadi* I, 425.

The almost grave silence of the later historians in not dealing with the lacuna chronicle is really revealing. If the epithet 'plagiarists' is too harsh, they were no doubt copyists. When our author is silent, they are left with no other option. These remarks do not hold good in such cases, of course, where the material is forthcoming.

1 *Bayhaqī*, p. 403.

A REAPPRAISAL OF THE SOURCES ON SHAYKH MU'IN AL-DIN AJMERI

by

DR. MUHAMMAD SALIM, KARACHI

Shaykh Mu'in al-Din Ḥasan Ajmeri is one of the most respected mystic Shaykhs of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. He was the founder of the Chishtiyah *Silsilah* in the sub-continent. His shrine at Ajmer is the most celebrated place in India. It has to-day endowments of lakhs of property. Thousands of people assemble there every year to celebrate his death anniversay. No other *Silsilah* has so deeply affected the religious, social and cultural fabric of the masses as the Chishtiyah. It may be assumed that the role of Shaykh Mu'in al-Din in these respects might have been very great, but it is difficult to prove this by any early historical evidence either about his life or his teachings. The *Fawāid-ul-Fu'ād* and the *Khayr-al-Majālis*, which are the most important and the earliest sources of the Chishti and other mystics, do not contain anything about his life, work, mission and achievements. In the *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ād* only his name has been mentioned thrice in connection with his two descendants and a *Khalīfah*[1]. The *Khayr-al-Majālis* does not even contain this.

The *Malfūẓāt—Anīs-ul-Arwāḥ*, *Dalīl-al-'Ārifīn*, *Fawāid al-Sālikīn*, *Asrār al-Awliyā*, etc. had probably been composed by the year 1350 A. C. But the few references to Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din which they contain are contradictory and fallacious. The principles they attribute to him are of a very general type and have been taken from the current mystic accounts of the earlier mystics. Their anonymous authors have even contributed to him

1 Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawāid-al-Fu'ād*, (Lahore, 1966), pp. 76, 342 and 405.

principles which are definitely against the principles of the *Silsilah.*[1]

These *Malfūẓāt* have not been used by the writers of the later generations. Amir Khurd and Shaykh 'Abd al-Haq *Muḥaddith* of Delhi have only used the *Dalīl al-'Ārifīn.* They have taken from it the teachings of the Shaykh which are of a general character. Amir Khurd has not mentioned its name.

Modern research scholars have proved that all these *Malfūẓāt* are spurious.[2]

Our first genuine source about the Shaykh is the *Siyar al-Awliyā* of Amīr Khurd. He lived about a century after the Shaykh and was a disciple of Shaykh Niẓām al-Din Awliyā. His family was closely attached to Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn *Ganjshakar* and Shaykh Niẓām al-Din Awliya. He personally knew many *Khalīfahs* and disciples of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā. He has collected much information about the Chishti mystics from them and has added also his personal reminiscences to what he heard from others. He has also incorporated in his work many things from other books, sometimes with, but often without acknowledgement. He has highly praised Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din for his piety. He makes his

1 See (a) Shaykh Mu'īnuddin Ajmeri, *Anīs al-Arwāh*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, Majlis 4 to 10 ; 26 and 28.

(b) Shaykh Quṭbuddin, *Dalil al-Ārifīn*, (Nawal Kishore, Lucknow) Majlis, 2, 5, 6, 7 and 12.

(c) Shaykh Faridūddin, *Fawāid al-Sālikin* (Urdu Translation), Kutb Khānah Qaumi, Lahore, pp. 4, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 28.

(d) Badr al-Din Isḥāq, *Asrār-ul-Auliya*, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow, Faṣl, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 15, 17 and 22.

2 See Professor Muhammad Habib's article, "Chishti Mystic" Record of the Sultanate Period, Medieval India Quarterly, Aligarh, October, 1950 and Dr. Muhammad Noor Nabi, Development of Muslim Religious Thought in India (from 1200 to 1450 A. C.), Muslim University, Aligarh, pp. 129-30.

For a detailed critical examination and refutution of Prof. Mohammad Habib's arguments see Sayyid Sabahuddin Abdur Rahman's learned article *Mulfūzāt-i-Khwajāgān-i-chishti* in the Urdu Magazine, *Ma'ārif* (Azamgarh), October, November, and December 1964—Editor 1.

readers believe that the Shaykh was the representative of the holy Prophet in Hind-Pakistan and many important events in this country had happened due to his miracles.[1] But his knowledge about the facts of the life of the Shaykh was very slight. The information which he gives about him is not enough to form any definite opinion about the life and work of the Shaykh. All his statements are also not based on historical evidence. There are a few facts for which he has quoted Shaykh Niẓām al-Din Awliyā as his source. They are about the arrival of the Shaykh in Ajmer, his conflict with Rai Pithora and its subsequent result and his journey to Delhi.[2] No writer of the later generations, except Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaq *Muḥaddith* of Delhi, has recognised his book as a reliable source; nor has anyone taken anything from it.

The other source for the Shaykh's life is the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* of Shaykh Jamālī who belonged to the Suhrwardiyah *Silsilah*. He had travelled widely in the sub-continent to collect information about mystics. He had also visited Persia, Afghanistan, and Egypt. On his return from these countries, he wrote his book during the reign of Humāyūn.[3]

Unlike Amīr Khurd, he has given full account of the Shaykh's life. Tracing his life-history from his boyhood, he goes on to explain how he was initiated into Ṣufism and how after acquiring knowledge he became a disciple and Khalīfah of Shaykh 'Uthmān Harūnī. After this, he describes the travels of the Shaykh, which ultimately ended at Ajmer. He mentions the names of the places and the shrines which he visited and also of the Ṣūfi Shaykhs whom he met in the course of his journey. He has also recorded some miracles of the Shaykh. He has dated the arrival of the Shaykh at Ajmer after its conquest by Sulṭan Quṭb al-Din Aybak. He has also shown the influence of the Shaykh on the non-Muslims.

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1 Amir Khurd, *Siyar-ul-Awliya*, (Chiranji Lal Press, Delhi) pp. 45-47.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47, 53-55.

3 Shaykh Jamālī, *Siyar-ul-'Ārifin*, (Rizvi Press, Delhi), Introduction.

He has also described the Shaykh's journey to Delhi. At the end, he has given the account of his marriage and death.[1]

The account of his travels, which he has given in his book, shows that he had taken great pains in collecting information and had to depend on oral traditions as he does not mention the name of any book.[2] As a result, there is a striking contrast between the accounts of Amir Khurd and Shaykh Jamālī about Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din.

How far (miracles apart) Shaykh Jamālī's investigation can be relied upon, it is difficult to say. Central Asia, Afghanistan and Eastern Persia were attacked, conquered and devastated by the Mongols even while Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din was living at Ajmer. The havoc wrought was terrible. Shaykh Jamālī knew too much about the lives of the mystics to make the sort of blunders we find in the fabricated *Malfūẓāt*, but oral tradition which is about three centuries old, with the Mongol onslaught thrown in between, cannot be given much credence. Apart from fabricated legends this is the only information we have.

This was probably the reason why 'Abu al-Faḍl, Firishtah and Dārā Shukuh have incorporated in their works the versions of Shaykh Jamālī[3] but they have not acknowledged it. They have also added a few facts on their own, but for these too they have not quoted any authority. For instance, Abu al-Faḍl has said that the Shaykh was Ḥasani-ul-Ḥusayni[4] and that Shaykh had come to India in the year in which Shihāb al-Din had captured Delhi.[5] Firishtah added on his own the genealogical table of the

1 *Siyar-ul 'Ārifīn*, pp. 5-13.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 513 (Account of travel is spread all over the chapter on Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din).

3 *Ā'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1877, pp. 213-14, *Tarīkh-i-Ferishta*, Vol. II, (Chapter XII, Bombay Edition), pp. 711-717; Dārā Shukuh, *Safīnah al-Awliya*, (Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow), pp. 93 94.

4 Āin, Vol. III, p. 213

5 *Ibid*, pp. 213, 214.

Shaykh's *Silsilah.*[1] Darā Shukūh, too, has added some thing of his own about himself and his father.[2]

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq who has given a short biography of Shaykh Jamālī in his book, *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*, has not taken any thing from his book nor has he mentioned its name. He has incorporated into his work the major part of the account of Amīr Khurd[3] but without acknowledging it. He had added to it the Shaykh's marriages, the date of his death and the description of his shrine,[4] but does not mention his source.

It will not be out of place here to mention the *Siyar al-Aqṭāb* of Shaykh Allāh Diyā of the time of Shāh Jahān. The nature of this book is different from that of the above mentioned books. It is a book of legends and not of history. The author has written it from his intuition. The legends and stories like that of Jaipal Jogi are found in it and many of such legends are still current in the subcontinent.

Almost all the modern books are based on these sources. Now the question arises to what extent these books can be considered as reliable for the life and works of the Shaykh. It is clear from the above that the *Siyar al-Awliya* and the *Siyar al-'Ārifīn* are the only main authorities on the Shaykh. As shown above Amīr Khurd has gathered some of his knowledge about the Shaykh from Shaykh Niẓām al-Din Awliyā and the rest are based on hearsay or are his personal observations. Shaykh Jamālī's account is based on oral traditions.

There are writers who are of the opinion that the Shaykh had come to the subcontinent with the army of Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Din.[5] This opinion is based on the account of Qāḍi Minhāj who says:

1 Ferishta, p. 711.

2 *Safinat-al-Awliya*, pp. 93-94.

3 *Akhbār-al-Akhyār*, (Mujtabai Press, Delhi), pp. 22-25.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 114.

5 Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, *Abe-Kausar*, Feroze sons, Lahore, 1965, pp. 202-3; Dr. I.H. Qureshi, Barr-e-Azim *Pak-o-Hind ki Millat-i-Islamia*, Karachi University, 1967, p. 75.

"این داعی از ثقهٔ شنید که از معارف بلاد تولک بود لقب او
معین الدین بود - رومی گفت من دران لشکر باسلطان غازی بودم -
عدو سوار لشکر اسلام دران وقت صدو بست هزار برگستوان بود"[1]

The question is—was this "Mu'īn al-Din" Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din Ajmeri? Had it been so? Why has this statement not been accepted by Amīr Khurd and the other writers? Contrary to it Amīr Khurd on the authority of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliya informs us that the Shaykh had reached Ajmer while Rai Pithora was there and he was at Ajmer at the time of the second battle of Tarain.[2] This view has also been accepted by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq *Muḥaddith* of Delhi[3]. Shaykh Jamāli and following him 'Abu al-Faḍl and Firishtah on the other hand have said that the Shaykh had reached Delhi after its conquest by Sultan Mu'izz al-Din[4]. Besides, Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din was from Sijistān and not from Tulak. In the presence of so many conflicting statements, it is very difficult to fix any time for the arrival of the Shaykh in the sub-continent.

It is therefore, difficult to form any definite opinion of the Shaykh's work in India. When the Shaykh came to India, Ajmer was the most important city. But Shihāb al-Din and his successors transferred the centre of administration of northern India first to Lahore and then to Delhi, Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din instead of migrating to Delhi left that ever-growing city in charge of his *Khalīfah*. There was consequently, a break in the continuity of the *Silsilah* traditions. Among the mystic circles of Delhi the name of Shaykh Mu'īn al-Din was always referred to with great respect, but little seems to have been known about him. Neither the *Fawāid al-Fu'ād* nor the *Khayr al-Majālis* gives us any definite information

1 Minhāj al-Siraj-, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, Vol. I, edited by Abdul Hayee Habibi, (Kabul 1963) p. 400.

2 *Siyar*, pp. 46-7.

3 *Akhbār-al-Akhyar*, p. 22.

4 *Siyar-al-'Ārifīn*, p. 12,

4 *Āin*, Vol. III, p. 213,

5 **Firishtah, p. 715.**

about him, because the Chishti Shaykhs Niẓām al-Din and Naṣīr al-Din whose conversations (*malfuẓāt*) they record knew nothing about the great founder of their *Silsilah.*

The fame and the popularity of the Shaykh probably began from the time when Amīr Khurd wrote his book and mentioned him as the representative of the Prophet in this sub-continent and a great preacher of Islām. He would have us beleive that before his arrival there was darkness *i. e.*, no light of Islām in this sub-continent and it was he who dispelled it and after that Islām spread far and wide[1]. This is nothing but phantasy. Long before his advent, there were thousands of Muslims in this sub-continent.

Shaykh Jamālī has also given him the highest place among the mystics of this sub-continent. He says that all the mystics are subordinate to him and he is their chief.[2]

It seems that on account of the writings of Amīr Khurd and Shaykh Jamālī his fame as a mystic spread far and wide from Akbar's time onwards. Akbar, who was a great believer in mystics, is reported to have visited the shrine of the Shaykh seven times[3]. This must have created a great impression on the people and many legends which are now popular must have grown then. Shāh Jahān also believed in Ṣufism and in Sūfis. Dārā Shukūh says that he had visited the shrine with him. He also informs us that his father had no issue and he was born due to the blessings of the Shaykh.[4] Such belief still exists and most of the people visit the Shaykh's shrine with this belief. They pray and seek the blessings of the departed soul. They prostrate before his tomb and make *ṭawāf* around it.

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1 *Siyar-al-Awliyah*, p. 47.

2 *Siyar-al-'Ārifin*, p. 5.

3 Badāyūnī *Muntakhab-ul-Tawārikh* (Urdu Translation), Vol. II, Lahore, 1962), pp. 351, 380, 396, 416, 425, 456, and 479.

4 *Sāfināt al-Awliyā*, p. 92.

Thus, whatever has been written by the early writers about the Shaykhs does not stand the test of historical testimony. It is, however a fact that he came to Ajmer from Sijistan, and settled there; that he had a family and *Khalifahs*, and that Akbar and Shah Jahan visited his shrine. So far as his preaching of Islam is concerned there does not appear to be any reliable evidence of it either. Even the Chishtiyah *Silsilah* did not spread through his efforts. Throughout his stay in the sub-continent he remained at Ajmer far from the centre of Muslim power. It spread through the efforts of Shaykh Quṭb-al-din Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaykh Farīd al-Din *Ganjshaker* and Shaykh Nizām al-Din Auliya.

IMĀM ABU ḤANĪFAH

(Life and personality)

MRS. MUMTAZ MOIN, KARACHI

Introductory.

The rise of the Umayyads to power and their acquisition of the caliphal office is a turning point in the history of Islam. The Quranic principles of state-craft and the practice of the Prophet and his four immediate successors had left no doubts as to the real nature of Islamic social structure ; it was neither theocratic (i. e., priest-ridden) nor purely materialistic. It aimed at providing spiritual and moral foundations for temporal life. No doubt, under the Umayyad caliphs the Muslims attained a remarkable success in material welfare, but, generally speaking, they did nothing to stop the moral degeneration which had set in. Of course 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz was an exception, but his reign was only a short interrugnum. Most of the educated and pious leaders of the community withdrew themselves from the activities of political life. 'Urwah b. Zubayr and Ḥasan Baṣrī may be quoted as prominent instances. There were others who openly revolted against the Government and sacrificed their lives. Besides these two extreme types there was a third group of conscientious leaders who wanted to influence and improve the society by their personal example and by openly challenging the un-Islamic deeds and decisions of the reigning caliphs or their officers. Abu Ḥanīfah (80—150 H.) who was a contemporary of the later Umayyad and early 'Abbāsid caliphs belonged to the last category. Before mentioning some of the noted incidents of his life which indicate how courageous and independent he was in expressing the truth, we would like to briefly refer to some facts of his early life.

Imām Abū Ḥanīfah al-Nu'mān Ibn Thābit was born in Kufa about the year 80 H/699 A. C. His grandfather Zuṭa is said to have been brought from Kabul to Kufa as slave and set free by a member of the Arabian tribe of Taym Allāh b. Tha'labah. Abū Ḥanifah is therefore often referred to as al-Taymī. Abū Ḥanīfah received his early education at Kufa.

After the death of the holy Prophet, Mecca, Medina and Kufa had developed into great centres of learning. Kufa had become the seat of the study of *Ḥadith* because a large number of the *Companions* had lived there. According to Ibn Sa'd about a hundred of them were those who had been present at Bay'ah-al-Riḍwān and seventy of them had fought at Badr. Thousands of the pupils of 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd were engaged in the study of *Ḥadīth* at Kufa. It is no wonder therefore that Abū Ḥanīfah had an opportunity of attending the lectures of a large number of distinguished scholars, some of whom have been mentioned by the writers. The most important of his teachers however was Ḥammād Ibn Abi Sulaymān. He is stated to have seen several *Companions* (*Ṣaḥābah*) of the Prophet including Anas Ibn Mālik and a large number of followers (*Tābi'in*). Shortly before the downfall of the Umayyads he had left Kufa and settled in Mecca where he studied under some distinguished teachers of the day.

By profession Abū Ḥanīfah was a trader in silk goods—*Khazz.* He seems to have had a prosperous business and large manufacturing house. He was exceedingly honest in his business dealings and people often trusted him with their savings. According to some authorities there were five crores of dirhams with him at the time of his death.

In spite of his wealth Abū Ḥanīfah lived a simple life; he was known for his piety and devotion, and spent much of his time in reciting and studying the *Qur'ān.* He spent his wealth liberally in supporting the students of *Ḥadith* and helping the needy. An incident has been narrated by the historians that once

when he was going with one of his friends a man saw him and turned away from the street. Abū Ḥanīfah however went to him and asked the reason for his action. The man replied that he felt ashamed at showing his face to him because he had not been able to repay his debt which was long over-due. The Imām told him not to bother about it and said he could retain the money as a gift from him ; he also apologized to him for having caused him embarrassment.

Abū Ḥanīfah was a great scholar of *Ḥadith* and had heard it from a number of well-known authorities ; it has been stated that he had a large collection of *Ḥadithes* heard by him which he kept in several boxes. After Ḥammād's death in 120 H, he became the foremost teacher and authority on *Fiqh* in Kufa.[1] He succeeded his distinguished teacher as the head of his institution on the latter's departure to Baṣrah. Among his numerous pupils some of whom became famous scholars the names of Imām Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, Imām Yūsuf and Dāwūd al-Ṭāī may specifically be mentioned.

Abū Ḥanīfah had an impressive personality. Ibn Khallikan says that he "was a handsome man, an agreeable companion, strictly honourable and full of kindness for his brethren ; he was of a middle size rather tall and of a complexion inclined to be tawny. No man spoke more elegantly than he, nor with a sweeter tone of voice".

Besides being extraordinarily intelligent he possessed a good sense of humour too. Once when a barber was cutting his hair he told him to pick up grey hair. " But " said the barber, "the hair picked up grow more profusely". " Alright ", retorted the Imām, "then pick up the black ones".

Another interesting incident of his humourous remarks is recorded. A bigoted Shi'ah of Kufa used to say that Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān was a Jew. One day Abū Ḥanīfah went to his house

1 See Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-'Āyān* (Eng. Trans.—Karachi, 1968), Vol. VI, p. 45.

and said to him ; "You are in search of a partner for your daughter, I have found a suitable man, who is rich and also a pious man". He said ; "yes, I cannot find a better man, please arrange the marriage." The Imām said, "there is one thing however which may be mentioned. He is a Jew" ; the man was enraged at hearing this and said, "you advise me to marry my daughter to a Jew". The Imām replied ; "What is the harm ; The Prophet, you say, had married his daughter to a Jew." The man was ashamed at this reply and abandoned the habit of accusing Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān.

Abū Ḥanīfah's main title to fame is his work as a jurist but here, as has been mentioned earlier we will discuss only his relations with the reigning monarchs and officers.

Abū Ḥanīfah and the Umayyads

Abū Ḥanīfah was in his early forties when Zayd raised the standard of revolt against the Umayyads in 122 H. The Imām had a great regard for his learning and piety[1] ; he did not offer to fight under his banner because he was not certain of the attitude of the Kufans who had offered *bay'ah* at his hands. Nevertheless, he thought that by virtue of his character and faith in Islam Zayd had a stronger claim to the caliphate than the ruling Umayyad prince. It was for this reason that he sent him a sum of 10,000 dirhams as his contribution. This action of the Imām would have certainly brought upon him the wrath of the Umayyads, if they had not been involved into difficulties after the defeat and death of Zayd[2].

Abū Ḥanīfah and the Khārijites

More serious than the revolt of Zayd was the rising of the Khārijites, who captured Kufa under one of their leaders—Ḍaḥḥāk. Abū Ḥanīfah, now a leading figure, with extensive influence over

1 He is stated to have referred to Zayd as one of the best *Faqihs* of his day.

2 It is said that about 40,000 men of Kufa had pledged support to him, but when he started fighting all of them withdrew except 200 to 300 persons.

the people, was arrested and brought before Ḍaḥḥāk. He asked the Imām as was usual with the Khārijites to repent of his sins, which, according to their belief, made a man infidel. The Imām replied: "I repent of all forms of infidelity". He was allowed to go, but some advisers of Ḍaḥḥāk told him that Abū Ḥanīfah considered the beliefs of the Khārijites to be infidelism. He was again summoned to the Court: Ḍaḥḥāk said: "I understand that by infidelity you mean *our* beliefs." The Imām asked him if he was certain of what he said, or that it was a mere guess. Ḍaḥḥāk admitted that his statement was based on mere guess. The Imām immediately quoted the Qur'anic verse to the effect that sometimes guesses become tantamount to sins, and said to him that by committing this sin, he had according to his beliefs become an infidel and should therefore offer repentance. Ḍaḥḥāk repented and asked the Imām also to repent. Abū Ḥanīfah repeated his original statement: "I repent of all types of infidelity". He was allowed to go.

The situation however became more serious when Ḍaḥḥāk decided to order a general massacre of the Kufans. In this crisis none except Abū Ḥanīfah had the courage of facing the tyrant. He went to Ḍaḥḥāk and said: "On what grounds you consider the massacre of the Kufans to be lawful". "They are apostates", was Ḍaḥḥāk's reply. "Apostates?" said the Imām, "No, They are not apostates; they have not changed their faith; their beliefs are exactly the same as they were before now". Ḍaḥḥāk was taken aback by this irrefutable argument of Abū Ḥanīfah. He put his sword in the scabbard and withdrew his orders for the general massacre.

Kufa was freed from the hold of the Khārijites by Ibn Hubayrah who became its governor after expelling them (129 H.). The Umayyads were, however, now threatened by a serious danger; the 'Abbāsid propaganda in Khurāsān was moving fast towards a successful end. Ibn Hubayrah therefore decided to stabilize his position by associating the leading scholars with his

administration. Among these Abū Ḥanīfah was the most important figure. Ibn Hubayrah had been impressed by his superior intellect and wisdom. He therefore called him to his Court and offered to give him the charge of his seal so that no document could pass out of the Secretariat without his approval. The Imām declined the offer and did not change his mind even at the request of a deputation of the *'ulama*[2], on which Ibn Hubayrah imprisoned him. As he had made it a question of prestige he offered him other posts, including that of the *Qāḍī*, and swore that he would have him flogged if he decline his offer again. Abū Ḥanīfah was however too firm in his stand to be intimidated by such threats, and like the governor swore that he would not accept it even if he was to be executed for his refusal.

This naturally enraged Ibn Hubayrah who ordered him to be brought before him and publicly flogged. When being flogged the Imām simply remarked: "His beating in this world is less hard than the blows of iron maces in the next." Hubayrah gave a threat that he would be beaten to death. "Yes," replied Abu Ḥanifah, "but unto *one* death only". However, he was sent back to the prison. Subsequently he was released and at the suggestion of his friends he provided the governor with an opportunity to see his oath satisfied by accepting the duty of counting fruit-baskets brought into the town. However, soon he decided to go to Mecca.

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1 We may mention the story of the precious emerald for which he had taken a fancy, but the stone had the name of another person inscribed on it. He mentioned this to Abū Ḥanīfah, who took the piece and found that the name inscribed was 'Aṭā b. 'Abd Allāh (عطا بن عبد الله). The Imām directed that it could be made into عطا من عند الله by merely changing the position of the dots. Hubayrah was highly pleased.

2 In reply to an appeal from the deputation of the *'Ulama*, Abū Ḥanīfah is stated to have remarked, "Shall I accept an office by holding which I would be required to confirm his orders for the execution and beheading of the people. No Never."

Abū Ḥanīfah and the 'Abbāsids

It has been stated that Abū Ḥanīfah along with other *'ulamā* was present at Kufa when Al-Saffāḥ delivered his first *khuṭbah.* He asked the audience to offer *bay'ah.* On behalf of all of them Abū Ḥanīfah said that they were happy that the Caliphate had passed into the hands of those whose ancestors were near relations of the Prophet and hoped that the people would under the new regime have the freedom of telling the truth, and therefore they would offer *bay'ah* for the moment.[1] This incident is important because it was a gesture of goodwill. But soon it became clear that the approach of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs to some basic problems—particularly the independence of the judiciary—was not very dissimilar to that of the Umayyads. In fact the Imām laid great emphasis on this problem, and this was why he considered the office of a *qāḍi* or judge to be extremely delicate. He often told his pupils to be careful of the dangers involved in holding a qāḍī-ship. To one of them, who had accepted the office he had written "You are in the position of a person who is drowning ; be careful to save yourself.[2]

With regard to Abū Ḥanīfah's relations with Caliph Manṣūr, it may be mentioned that he had a great regard for his intelligence, ability and character. A number of incidents have been recorded by the historians, which throw light on their relations. Every time the conduct of the Imām impressed the Caliph. On one occasion, for instance, one of his courtiers, out of envy for the Imām, told the Caliph that he had given *fatwās* against those of his distinguished ancestor, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās. On being asked to relate a positive instance he said that Ibn 'Abbās had decreed that it was lawful for a person to make exceptions to his oath even after leaving the place where he had taken it, but Abū Ḥanifah had declared otherwise. The Caliph told this to Abū Ḥanīfah.

1 Abū Ḥanīfah had used the phrase *Qayam al-Sa'at* (قيام الساعت) which could be interpreted in two ways : (1) till the Day of Judgment, and (2) for the moment.

2 Imam Muwwafaq, quoted in Gīlānī, Manāẓir Aḥsan, *Imām Abū Ḥanīfah ki siyasi zindgi*, p. 373.

He said : "O Amir al-Muminin ! this fellow wants the soldiers of your army, who have taken oath of fealty to you, to back out of their obligation. The Caliph laughed and told his courtier not to bother the Imām, otherwise his life would be in danger. In 145 H. came the revolt of Nafs-i-Zakiyah who was in Madinah. His brother, Ibrāhim, was working for him in the eastern provinces. Once again, as in the case of Zayd, Abū Ḥanīfah declared that the revolt was lawful and justified because Nafs-i-Zakiyah by virtue of his superiority in character had a better title to the caliphate than the 'Abbāsids who had been ruthlessly massacring the Muslims.[1] He had not concealed his views on this question and openly supported Ibrāhīm, but after the latter's defeat and the collapse of the revolt Manṣūr did not arrest the Imām, nor did he maltreat him. Nevertheless, he became alert and seems to have decided to meet this potential threat to his autocracy by diplomatically winning the Imām to his side. He would often call him to his court and always treated him with respect, but almost on every occasion that he was consulted the Imām's replies were rather disconcerting. One of Caliph's wives, for instance, complained to him that she was not receiving from him adequate attention. Both appointed Abū Ḥanīfah as an arbitrator in their quarrel. The Caliph asked the Imām, in the presence of his wife, if according to law he was not entitled to have more than one wife. "Yes" was the Imām's reply, "but a man can have more than one wife only if he can be just to all of them ; if not, he should be content with only one." Evidently Manṣūr was not just to all his wives. The wife of the Caliph sent some gifts by way of gratitude which of course the Imām declined to accept.

Manṣūr also tried to soften the Imām's attitude by giving him a few thousand dirhams as a gift. Abū Ḥanīfah politely declined to accept it saying that the money belonged to the Bayt al-Māl of the Muslims, and that he was not entitled to receive it because he was neither poor nor a needy person, nor had he

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1 Abū Muslim Khurāsāni's killings and massacres are well-known.

rendered any service to the state by guarding and protecting the lives of the Muslims. These remarks implied that the Caliph could give a personal gift from his own purse and not from the public treasury. Manṣūr, notorious for his miserliness, could not have failed to feel the sting. Later he told the Imām to accept the gift of a handsome slave girl who, of course, belonged to him. Abū Ḥanīfah again came forward with an irrebuttable excuse for declining the offer. He said that he was too old to keep the young slave girl (as a concubine or a wife); nor would he like to sell away a gift given by the Caliph.

The Caliph then decided to offer him the qāḍīship of Kufa, thinking perhaps that he would like to accept it because of his keen interest in *fiqh*, but the Imām apologized and told him that Kufa being his own native town the people would resent the appointment and say: the son of a baker has been made a *qāḍī*. He added that they would raid his house and throw stones at it. The Caliph was however determined to take him into service, and therefore after the lapse of some time he told him to accept the very dignified post of *qāḍī-al-quḍāt*. He was sure that he would swallow the bait, and was therefore greatly surprised to learn that the Imām still persisted in his refusal. An interesting dialogue followed. The Imām ultimately said that he did not consider himself fit for this office. "You lie", said the Caliph. "Now" replied the Imām, "you have given a decision in my favour. Will it be proper for you to appoint a liar to the dignified office of *qāḍi-al-quḍāt* ?" Thus defeated in argument, Manṣūr lost his temper. He rebuked the Imām and ordered him to be flogged, and swore that he must appoint him to a post. The Imām also swore that he would not accept any office. The Caliph's chamberlain, al-Rabī' Ibn Yūnus said to the Imām: "Do you not perceive that the Commander of the Faithful has made an oath". Abū Ḥanīfah replied: "The Commander of the Faithful has ampler means than I for expiating an oath not fulfilled.' Manṣūr sent him to prison. Subsequently at the recommendation of some respectable persons he ordered him to be released and put under

house arrest. It was here that he breathed his last in Rajab 150 H.[1]

The greatest achievement of Abū Ḥanīfah was in the field of Islamic Law. We have not discussed this aspect of his work in this paper, but what has been related of his efforts to establish and insist on the doctrine of the superiority of law by challenging the unlawful orders of the Government is enough to entitle him to a prominent place among the leaders who have tried to reform society by courting danger and suffering hardships.

1 Some writers have said that he had been set free, and had ultimately accepted the qāḍīship of a suburb of Baghdad, Ruṣafah and that within a week of assuming office he expired. Another version is that he was poisoned to death by the orders of the Caliph.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY

by

SHAHEER NIAZI, KARACHI

The second orthodox Caliph of Islām, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is blamed for the destruction of the Alexandrian Library by issuing order to 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, to destroy all the books in Alexandria, but the question whether this splendid library existed at the time of Muslim conquest, has been a subject of controversy and according to E.W. Brooks[1], "there is scarcely any important event in history of which the accounts are so vague and so discrepent as the capture of Alexandria." In fact when we study the facts we find that the account of the Muslim conquest of Egypt and particularly of Alexandria is more imaginary rather than factual. Edward Alexander Parsons,[2] the author of *The Alexandrian Library; Glory of The Hellenic World* has not only reopened the controversy, but he has created a number of misunderstandings.

One of the fabricated stories is that told by the Jewish writer Bar Hebraeus[3] (1226-1286 A.C.) who was converted to Christianity and who is called Abul Farj by the Arab writers. After six centuries of the conquest of Egypt he told the world that the great library of Alexandria was destroyed by the Muslims under the order of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and not by Julius Caesar and Theodosius. There is no doubt that Bar Hebraeus was a great Syrian scholar, but being a Christian Bishop he was hostile to Islam. The story as it stands today is briefly as following:

1 Dr. Butler, A. J., *The Arab Conquest of Egypt* (ed. 1902), Preface, pp. vi.

2 Parsons, *Edward Alexander 'The Alexandrian Library'* (ed. London, 1952).

3 Bar Hebraeus (Abulphragius) who is called Abul Farj by the Arab writers, hould not be confused with Abul Farj Isphahāni (284/897 C. E.).

"John the Grammaticus (Grammarian) was a great Alexandrian scholar who lived to see the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs. He made his acquaintance with 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ who was impressed by his learning and scholarship. After gaining his favour John the Grammarian requested him to give him the books of wisdom which were stored in the Imperial Treasuries. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ told him that he could not do it without the permission of the Caliph. He wrote to him in this regard. The reply was, 'If these books agree with the Word of God, they are not required and if they disagree, they are not desired. Therefore destroy them'. 'On receipt of this order 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ distributed all the books to the public baths in Alexandria to be used as fuel for heating them. It took six months to consume[1] all these books. Listen and wonder' says Bar Hebraeus (Abul Farj).

This is the story that made its appearance in the Arabic literature during the latter half of the thirteenth century of Christian Era. There is no doubt that Abul Farj has given to this story a tune, colour and flavour of the orient but he fails to refer to his source of information. For a long span of five centuries we do not find any writer whether Muslim or non-Muslim referring to the destruction of the Alexandrian Library at the time of Arabian conquest because not only the 'Mother Library' of the Museum but even the 'Daughter Library' of the Serapeum was totally destroyed before the advent of Islām Only 'Abdul Laṭīf a physician of Baghdād (1200 A.C) ventures to report most unscrupulously a legend about the destruction of the Alexandrian Library that he heard during his visit to Alexandria. Essentially the reporters were those who were sentimentally against Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn Ayyūbī and 'Umar's conquest of Egypt. However an academic survey of the material amassed on this subject and its careful

1 Abul Farj's *Tarīkh-i-Mukhtaṣar* al-Dawal ed. Beirut, 1890, p. 565, edited and translated by Pococke, (ed. 1663) p. 114 (original text, p. 180), Gibbon, Renaudot and Vasudeva Rau disbelieve it and regard it untrustworthy because it is not found in his original work in Syriac. Ninth chapter of the Arabic text deals with the Arab rulers, *cf.* "Mu'jam", Egyptian ed., 1928 pp. 339-340.

scrutiny is essential. However before dealing with the statement of Abu al-Farj in this connection, we shall have to peep into the past to separate facts from fallacies.

After his easy conquest of Egypt, Alexander sailed from Memphis down the Nile, entered the open sea and disembarked[1] on the coast of a village named Rhakotis, on the 25th day of Tybiṭ 20th Jan., 331 B.C. Due to the topographical suitability of this place for a new city,[2] he ordered the royal architect, Dinocrates to plan. It was a rectangular type of city with broad straight streets intersecting each other at right angles. The city was divided into three ethnic regions,[3] namely, the Egyptian quarter where Serapeum was erected, the Brucheion where there were the royal palaces, the Museum, the Library and the Mausoleum. The third one was the Jewish[4] quarter which was virtually governed by the Jews themselves. The island of Pharos where the world famed 'Lighthouse' was built by an outstanding architect Sostratus of Cnidos had its annexation with the Brucheion. There were many scholars and merchants dwelling in this city who were Arabs, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Italians and even Indians[5] from the north-western regions of ancient India, which are now in West Pakistan.

So far as the foundation of the Museum and the Library is concerned, all the scholars agree that they were founded by Ptolemy Soter,[6] greatly helped and advised by Demetrius of Phaleron. The buildings of the Museum and the Library were of white marble. There were statuary-halls, picture-galleries, lecture-rooms and refectories for resident and itinerant scholars. Approximately one hundred scholars lived under the royal

1 Arrian : '*The Anabasis of Alexander*' (tr. E. J. Chinnock, London (1893) Bk. III-1), *cf.* Parsons, p. 53.

2 Hogarath, David D., '*Philip and Alexander of Macedon*' (ed. N .Y. 1897), pp. 187-193.

3 Parsons, pp. 56-57.

4 Josephus '*The Jewish War*, II, p. 188.

5 Parsons. p. 57

6 A Satrap from 331-305 and then a king from 305-283 B.C.

patronage to make researches in ancient history. literature and sciences and after collating the manuscripts, to issue the recensions of the Greek literature.[1]

There were ten great halls in the famous 'Alexandrian Library' (i.e. The Mother Library) whose ample walls were lined with spacious 'armaria' (almirahs) systematically numbered and titled. There were separate compartments for individuals who were doing some research work on any particular subject. This Museum and the Library actually formed a University Campus and it could be regarded as the biggest University of the Hellenic world. So far as the collection of books in this library is concerned there are different reports; Josephus[2] (1st Cen. A.C.) tells us on the authority of Aristeas that Dematrius of Phaleron had collected 200,000 rolls of manuscripts in his first attempt. Ammanianus[3] has cited that there were 700,000 manuscripts in this library when Alexandria was sacked by Julius Caesar in 47 B.C. Paulus Orosius of Braga (Portugal) who was a friend of Emperor Augustus fifth century suggests that there were 400,000 books in all. Seneca[4] (4 B.C. to 65 A.C.) is also of the same opinion. A Western scholar Osann has formed an opinion on the authority of a manuscript of Plautus, discovered by him in 1819, that there were 400,000 unsorted rolls and 90,000 segrigated rolls arranged in order, in the 'Mother Library' of Museum while there were only 42000 segregated rolls in the 'Daughter Library' afterwards.

We are told that there were numerous private collection and public libraries in ancient Greece and some prominent persons namely Peisistratus (605-527 B.C.) a well known tyrant of Athens,

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1 Gregorvius: Ferdinand *The Emperor Hadrian* (London, ed. 1898), p. 238.

2 Josephus *'Jewish Antiquities'* (L. C. L). tr. H. St. Teackeray and Ralph Marcus, Bk. xii-2-i (ed. 1943).

3 Ammianus Marcellinus (L. C. L). tr. J. C. Rolfe (London ed. 1937), Bk. xxii-16-13.

4 Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi* ix-5.

Polycrates (d. 522 B.C.) ruler of Samos Island, Euripides[1] (480-406 B.C.) Euthydemus[2], Plato (427-347 B.C), Clearchus (assassinated in 353 B.C.) ruler of Heraclea and a pupil of Plato. Demosthenes, Aristotles[3] (384-322 B.C), strato of Lampsacus who had succeeded Theophrastus in the Lyceum and remained a head of this institute (from 286-268 B.C.), Perseus,[4] King of Macedon and Mithradates,[5] King of Pontus and many others possessed some fine collections of books and a great portion of these collections, particularly that of Aristotle was brought to Alexandria by the Ptolemies either direct from Athens or from Rome which was a market of the books at that time. There is no doubt that the Greek thinkers like Plato and Aristotle would have been maintaining their private collections of books as there are references here and there about such collections and libraries but there is no documentary evidence to support the number of books or the collections as well. Sir Flinders Petrie believes that the Alexandrian Library contained translations in Greek of many books in other languages such as Hebrew, Copt and Persian etc. In my opinion there is no harm if we add to this list the literature in Sanskrit also particularly when we find the presence of Indian rather more correctly the ancient scholars from West Pakistan not only in Alexandria, but in Athens also because of their close relations with the Greeks whose colonies were in Iran and on the coast[6] of the West Pakistan even before the conquest of Alexander the Great (327 B.C.) and along with the Trade Route from China

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1 B B. Rogers *Commentary on Euripides*, Vol. v, p. 144.

2 Xenophon: *Memorabilia*, Bk. iv-2, *cf.* B. C. Merchant's translation (L. C. L). entitled, '*Xenophon*' (London, 1923).

3 There are two reports, one is that Neleus sold his books to Ptolemy and the other is that his descendents had sold them to Apellicon.

4 Putarch : 'Aemilius Paulus' Bk. xxviii-6.

5 Parsons: *The Alexandrian Library*, p. 16, it is said that he had managed a library on the board of a ship named *The Lady of Alexandria*.

6 Shaheer Niazi: Art—'*A Note on Sialkot : The Ancient Sagala*', in the 'Journal of Pakistan Historical Society', Karachi, Vol. xv, Pt. 4, Oct. 1967, pp. 247-248, *cf* Cunningham's 'Ancient India', p. 179.

to Syria and its branch from Bactria to Patliputra (Patna) which is known as Silk-Road, the Greeks, Iranians and the Indian merchants had frequent trade relations evidently. The greatest contribution on Egyptology was made by an Egyptian priest—Manetho.[1] A similar contribution on Assyriology was that of Berosus.[2] This is the account that we have on the basis of some fragments now in British Museum and other libraries in the West but unfortunately the loss of 'Pinakes', the Catalogue prepared by Callimachus, the book of Aristonicus 'On The Museum' (1st. Cen. B.C.) and the original works of Iranaeus (130-200 A.C.) and that of Eusebius has made it impossible to trust the information at hand now.

Now I come down to the burning of the libraries in Museum and Serapis. I have already pointed out that since the days of Theodosius (390 A.C.) a silence prevails to the days of Abu'l Farj (1226 A.C.) and we do not find any Greek, Jewish or even a Christian historian telling us about the existance of the 'Mother Library' in the Museum or the 'Daughter Library in the Serapeum where he would have found the ancient rolls mentioned in histories. It is a known fact of history that the 'Mother Library' was destroyed perfectly when Alexandria was sacked by Julius Caesar in 47 B. C. and 'Daughter Library' which contained thousands of books including those brought after the fall of Pergamum in 41 B. C. were burned to ashes by the fanatic Theodosius in 390 A.C. There were other minor destructions due to internal disturbance in Alexandria which I will mention later on. Seneca.[3] (4 B. C. to 65 A C.) and Orosius (5th Cen. A.C.) are mysteriously silent about Alexandrian Library. Dr. Butler[4] has rightly remarked that Orosius is really a witness not to the destruction of the Serapeum Library but to its non-existence in 416 A.C. We find that Cicero (106-43 B. C),

1 Waddle, Dr. W. G. : '*Manetho*' (London, 1940), pp. 12-22.

2 Rawlinson H. G., *Bactria* : '*The History of Forgotten Empire*, (London, 1912), p. 16.

3 Seneca is the nephew of Seneca the philosopher (d. 49 A.C.).

4 Butler : *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*, p. 422.

Strabo (64 B.C.—19 A.C.), Titus Livius (59 B.C.—17 A.C.), Lucan (d. 65 A.C.), Suetonius (70-160 A.C.) and Appian of Alexandria (65-165 A.C.) are silent on this subject which clearly indicates that none of the libraries was in existance and these authors deliberately avoided to mention the destructive activities of the Christians in Alexandria. There is a long list of those ancient writers who do not mention[1] the 'Mother Library' or even the existence of the 'Daughter Library.' This list includes the names of Herondas, Timon of Philus, Megillath Tanith, Masseketh Ṣopherim, Aristobulus, Philo Judaeus (39 A.C.), Flavius Josephus (37-100 A. C.), Justin (103-165 A. C.), Iranaeus (b. 120 A. C.), Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Anatolius, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, Epiphanius and others who remained mum because they had no courage to admit that the 'Mother Library' was destoryed by Julius Caesar (47 B. C.). Those who admit[2] it in clear words that this library was burned by Julius Caesar are namely Plutarch (46-120 A. C), Aulus Gelius (123-169 A.C.), Dio Cassius (155-23 B. C.) and Ammianus Marcellinus[3] (330 A. C.) to the beginning of 4th Cen). Parsons[4] wonders why Athenaeus[5] (228 A. C.) does not mention anything about this library while he devotes so many pages to the Alexandrian dances and dishes but Parsons fails to realise that a thing which was not in existence could only be mentioned for its destruction and he had no courage most probably to name Julius Caesar in this regard. A similar silence of the Christian writers can be noted in connection with the destruction of the 'Daughter Library' of Serapeum by Theodosius in 390 A. C. Leaving aside the refutation of the Christian charges against Umar, by Muslim scholars, many European historian including Gibbon, Niebuhr

1 Parsons : Intro. pp. 3-6, 422-425.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 300.

3 Ammanianus Marcellinus (L. C. L). tr. J. C. Rolfe (London, 1937), Book xxii-16-13.

4 Parsons : Intro. p. 4.

5 Athenaeus: *Deipnosophists* (The Feast of the Learned) tr. Charles Burton Gulick (London, 1941), Vol. I, p. xv.

Samuel Sharpe, George Lang, Dr. Oskar Seyffert, Daremberg, Saglio, Dr. Paul Graindor, Dr. J. Staquet, Dr. Butler and George Sarton[1] have admitted that there was no library in existence when Egypt was conquered by the Muslims To this list the names of the contributors of Encyclopaedias may also be added. There are very few Christian missionaries like Mahaffy who have either shifted the responsibility from Caesar's shoulder to Antony or they have soften the-tune by saying that Caesar had only collected all the manuscripts on the dock to take them away to Rome and the manuscripts were burned incidentally. Moreover the library was not destroyed in full but in part. Mahaffy and some other bishops have made an abortive attempt to distort the facts and blame the Muslims for burning the books in Alexandria.

Abu'l Farj gives us only a false story but Jurji Zaydan (1861-1914 A.C.) and Alexander Parsons apply a logic to it, frame the charges and make it an issue. What Jurjī Zaydan pleads[2] is that though a part of the library in Serapeum was destroyed by the Christians yet the rest was burned by the Muslims. The reports of the Muslim historians are trustworthy because 'Umar was hostile towards all the books other than the Holy Qur'ān and it was the fashion of the day to destory the literature of other nations.

We find that Jurjī Zaydān, Alexander Parsons and some other Western scholars who are prejudiced in this behalf, generally depend upon the scanty informations gathered from the most unscrupulous statements of 'Abdul Laṭīf[3] Baghdādī (1160-1231 A.C.), 'Alī Ibn al-Qifṭī[4] (1172-1248 A. C.). Abu'l Fidā[5] (1273-1331 A. C.), al-Maqrīzī[6] (1364-1442 A. C.) and Haji Khalīfah[7] (d. 1658

1 Sarton George, '*A History of Science*', pp. 156-157.

2 Zaydān Jurjī, '*Tārīkh-i-Tamaddun-i-Islāmī*', Pt. III, pp. 40-46.

3 The author of '*Kitāb al-Ifādah wal 'Itibār fil Umoor al-Mushāhidah* wal Ḥawādith al Mu'aināh ba Arḍ al-Miṣr' (which he completed in 603 A. H.)

4 The author of 'Tārīkh al-'Ḥukamāh'.

5 The author of 'Tārīkh-i-Abul Fida'.

6 The author of 'Khiṭaṭ'.

7 The author of 'Kashf al-Zunūn'.

A. C.) while it is evident that 'Abd al-Laṭīf Baghdādī was a renowned phsician but not a historian. Moreover what he had stated was a mere gossip that had reached his ears in Egypt and definitely it was not a serious report based on reliable evidences. To tell lies against 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb has been the practice of a mysterious Sect throughout the ages. 'Abd al-Laṭīf begins his report with the Arabic word '*yudhakkir*' (which means 'it is said') and Allāmah Shiblī[1] has rightly remarked that according to the Arabic style the use of this word renders his statement 'untrustworthy! So far as the authenticity of al-Qifṭī's book, '*Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā*' is concerned, one wonders that the characteristics of Diogenes are ascribed to Socrates. The book of Abul Fidā is nothing more than an abridged recension of Ibn al-Athīr's 'Complete Chronology' (upto 1231 A. C.) whose original work did not contain this element. Maqrīzī has only reproduced the statement of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Baghdādī about the conquest of Egypt, but he has nowhere remarked specifically about the destruction of the library by the Muslims. Moreover we find his style too fictitious when he tells us the stories about the renowned 'Lighthouse' of Alexandria which he calls 'Amūd al-Sawārī'. Now the last one is Ḥājī Khalīfah's *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (The Doubts Cleared up) which is not a book of history in the strict sense, and he too like others quotes no source or evidence from ancient history and relies upon 'Abd al-Laṭīf and for the destruction of Iranian books largely depends upon a traditional remark referred to by Ibn Khaldūn in his famous 'Prolegomena'.[2] without taking into consideration the ancient record which establishes the fact that the ancient books in Iran were destroyed when Alexander the Great burned Percepolis to ashes and then rest of the books were destroyed by the Mongols, not in Iran alone but in Baghdad also.

Now on one hand we find that all the Greek, Jewish and Christian writers before Abul Farj and 'Abd al-Laṭīf are either

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1 His article in 'Maqālāt-i-Shibli' (Urdu), ed. 1953, pp. 129-171.

2 His 'Prolegomena, Vol. I, p. 61.

silent about the destruction of Alexandrian Library, or they admit plainly that it was destroyed by Julius Caesar and the 'Daughter Library' was destroyed by Theodosius, then on the other hand all the early Muslim historians including Ibn Isḥāque, Ibn Hishām, Ṭabarī, Balādhurī, Aḥmad b. Abī Y'aqūb (the auther of Tārīkh-i-Y'aqubī) and Abū Ḥanīfāh Dinaurī do not mention anything about the existence or the destruction of the said library. Ibn al-Nadīm in his 'al-Fahrist' mentions about John the Grammarian but nothing about the Library. To this list we can add the names of Ibn 'Abdul Ḥakam[1] died in 871 A. C. in the old city of Cairo, al-Mas'ūdi[2] (900-956 A.C.) Sa'īd Ibn al-Baṭrīq[3] (876-940 A. C.) a Christian Arab physician and al-Makīn[4] (1205-1273 A.C.) a Christian Arab writer. I think it will not be out of place if I recollect that apart from the silence of Theophanes (d 817 A.C.) and Nicephorus (758-829 A.C.). John of Nikiu, a Jacobite Bishop (d. in early 8th Cen. A.C.) who speaks about the Muslims and the Prophet in a most derogatory manner,[5] does not mention the burning of the library at the time of Arabian conquest of Egypt—why?

Before drawing any conclusion we shall have to take into consideration the polemical statement of Abul Farj (Bar Hebraeus) which is the real cause of the whole controversy. It will be convenient if we note down some important points from his statement and they can be enumerated as under:

(1) That at the time of Arabian conquest John the Grammarian was alive.

(2) That the books were stored in the Imperial Treasury.

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1 The author of the *History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain*' (Arabic). This MSS is still preserved in 'Bibliotheque Nationale' (Paris).

2 The author of *Murūj al-Dhahāb* (The Golden Meadows).

3 The author of 'Chaplet of Pearls' (Arabic), known as Eutychius.

4 The author of 'Saracenic History of Elmacin' (called Elmacin in the West).

5 English translation of his chronicle by Dr. R. H. Charles (London, 1961), Chap. cxxi, *cf.* Parsons, p. 382.

(3) That under the order of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. the books were distributed to the public baths by 'Amr. b. al-Ās, to be consumed as fuel.

(4) That the books took six months to be consumed.

(5) Then 'Listen and wonder' adds Bar Hebraeus.

'Granting for a moment that the destruction of the library took place as has been related, we shall have to believe that instead of being made into a bonfire on the acropolis, the books were laboriously put in the baskets and taken down to the city to be distributed to the countless baths and that they served as fuel for six months. This is a tissue of absurdities' says an eminent Western scholar Dr. Alfred Butler[1]. However what we conclude from the ancient historical record is as following :

(1) That the great library in the Museum (i.e. The Mother Library) was totally burned to ashes in 47 B.C. when Alexandria was sacked by Julius Caesar.

(2) That a part of the 'Daughter Library' in Serapeum was destroyed during the massacre of the youths by Caracall in 215 A. C. then by Diocletian in 297 A. C. After that Alexandria was once again internally disturbed by the feuds between the Athanasians and the Arians in 321 A.C. In 365 A.C. a great part of this city was destroyed by an earthquake but the final destruction of the Temple of Serapis and the library in the Serapeum took place when Theodosius waged war against paganism and burned all the books in Serapeum and razed its building to the ground in 390 A.C. Another blow before the Arab conquest was given by Chosroes-II, in 616 A.C. and when the Muslims conquered Egypt, there was no library existing in the city of Alexandria.

(3) That in case there was no library in existence when Alexandria was conquered by the Arabs, the story told by Abul Farj is rendered as baseless, fictitious and hostile. Moreover there are elements which are dubious : (a) John the Grammarian was possibly not alive in 642 A.C. because the date of

1 Butler 'Arab conquest of Egypt (Oxford, ed. 1902), p. 404.

his works is 540 A.C. Moreover John is associated with Dioscorus, Gaius, and Serverus of Antioch. writing against the Council of Chalcedon and prevailing until Justinian ascended the throne in 527 A.C. this means that he was at least 120 years old at the time of Arabian conquest. (b) The Serapeum is called the 'Royal Treasurey' which is wrong because it was not a royal treasury. (c) There is no reason to distribute the book to the baths and to keep them busy for six months while the books could be burned as a whole. (d) That it seems impossible to burn them in the baths because these books were not written on paper or even on papyrus but on vellum which cannot be used as fuel.

The last but not the least is that Abul Farj who was fully aware of the Islamic law of the Dhimmah (Protection) and the amenities granted to 'Ahl al-Dhimmah' (those non-Muslims who are protected by the Muslims), places the incident at a wrong time. There was a treaty between the conqueror and the defeated and they had a sufficient time of eleven months at their disposal to remove all their belongings to another place. What we infer at last is that the statement of Abul Farj cannot be regarded more than a piece of propaganda literature produced by the Jews and the Christians against Islam and the Muslims deliberately.

EDUCATIONAL THOUGHT OF IBN KHALDUN

by

ANIS AHMAD, KARACHI

I

Education is a basic necessity of man. It is as essential to his mental and cultural life as air and water are to his physical existence. In the animal world, the new-born is guided by biological instinct to behave in a manner needed for one's development. Instinct conveys to him all that he needs know to begin one's life-career and play one's innings. Even the acquired characteristics are conveyed through biological processes. Not so in the human world. The body of knowledge discovered by man, the norms of culture developed by him, the entire paraphernalia of life built by him are to be communicated to the succeeding generations through cultural processes. Education is the media through which the intellectual and cultural legacy of a people is conveyed to the new entrants in the arena of the world. Education does for man, what sheer instinct would do for the birds and the beasts alike.

Education[1] is an all-embracing process : It consists of that mental, physical and moral training through which the latent qualities are developed, traits of character are built and the knowledge and culture of mankind are conveyed to those who participate in it. The term has been used in two senses, informal and formal.[2]

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1 The word 'education' is derived from the Latin *e, ex* meaning 'out' and *ducare due* meaning 'to lead' literally it means 'pack the information in' and 'draw talents out'. See *Dictionary of Word Origins* by Joseph T. Shipley, Ames, Iowa, 1957, p. 114.

2 "Not only does education" include whatever we do for ourselves and whatever is done for us by others for the express purpose of bringing us nearer to the perfection of our nature: it does more in its largest conception ;

Informal education includes all those influences of hoem and society which enable an individual to acquire knowledge and be more useful to cultural life. This education is enjoyed even by those who do not formally attend any educational institution. Formal education, on the other hand, is one which is imparted to the people through specific educational institutions according to certain specific programmes. This is a systematic process through which an effort is made to know the unknown with the help of the known. There are so many things in the world which are unknown to us. Education is a conscious, organized and systematic effort which is made to attain knowledge of reality and of the world we live in.

Knowledge does not merely mean knowledge of things, but also of reality as such, which can be acquired only through the agency of revelation. *'Ilm* according to the *Qur'ān*, is the basis of human creation.[1] That is why it stresses hard on the acquisition of *'Ilm* and makes its compulsory on every individual irrespective of sex.[2] Knowledge or *'Ilm* is the *summum bonum*, the basis differentia between human beings and other creation.[3]

Man's faculties of reason, memory and perception are the vehicles for eduction and in their turn are enabled by it to develop and play a part in keeping with their potential. In

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It comprehends even the indirect efforts produced on character, and on the human faculties by things of which the direct purposes are quite different"—John Stuart Mill, Inaugural Address, 1867, vide, W. O. Lester Smith, *Education*, Pelican. 1958, p. 9.

1 See *al-Qur'ān*, II : 30.

2 The Holy Prophet said : "Ths acquisition" of knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim male and female." For the development, of this concept in *fiqh* and other literature : see *al-Iḥyā al-'Ulūm al-Dīn* by Imām Muḥammad al-Ghazzāli, Vol. I, Sec. 1 ; *Jame' Bayan al Ilam wa Fadhl* by Allama Ibn Abd al-Bar and its Urdu translation *al-'Ilm wal' Ulama*, Nadwatul Muṣannifeen, Delhi, 1953.

3 See : *The Philosophy of al-Ghazzali* by M. 'Umruddin, Aligarh, 1962, Pt. II, Chap. VI.

other words education is a must for man's mental existence and growth.[1]

Education plays an important role in the preservation, development and transmission of a culture.

Education is a process of enlightenment of the individual and ultimately of the society. In this process of enlightenment certain practices are encouraged and preformed and certain others are discharged and discarded. This adoption of habits is a conscious process and emanates from one's behalf and outlook towards life. As such education is closely connected with the preservation of one's belief and ideology. Moreover, this process of selection and rejection aids the development of culture and enables it to blosom forth. Culture is also transmitted to the coming generations with the help of eduction. Whatever ideas, concepts and precepts we have are the result of the education we receive in our homes and other institutions We find that education is a manifold process of preservation, development and transmission of a culture. Only that education could be called perfect and ideal which serves the above mentioned purposes. Since the *Qur'ān* and the Holy Prophet have stressed the importance of education and have made its acquisition obligatory a large number of Muslim thinkers, jurists, historians and statesmen have expressed their views on this important problem.

II

Ibn K͟haldūn,[2] the great muslim thinker has given us a comprehensive account of his views on education. Born in Tunis on May 27, 1332, this great social philosopher and statesman enjoyed different responsible offices in the Marinid court. He came from a well to do family originally belonging to Andalus, which had settled at Tunis. Ibn K͟haldūn had availed of every opportunity to learn

1 See: *Selected Readings in the Philosophy of Education*, Macmillan, New York, 1958.

2 'Abd al-Raḥmān Abū Zayd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn K͟haldūn, born 27th May, 1332; died March 17, 1406.

and contemplate on the problems of his age. The last part of *al-Muqaddimah*, about one third of the great work, has been devoted to education, Philosophy of education and the problem of curriculla and teaching.[1] His views are clear and lucid and reflect deep understanding of the problem. Ibn Khaldūn first of all comes to grips with the problem of the aims of education. He says that the educational system should be formed in accordance with ideology. As a Muslim we have to obey the revealed guidance given by Allāh and His Prophet. Therefore we should give primary importance to the ideological character of education. Only those arts and sciences should be encouraged which are not contradictory to our belief: He says that subjects like sorcery, talismans, secret letters etc. may contain some elements of reality but they should not be encouraged in a Muslim society.[2] He further says that the sciences should be harmonized with religious disciplines. In this connection he places the spiritual world above the human world and regards the knowledge of the Prophets based on direct observation and vision and as such, free from mistake or error.[3]

This is a very important observation of Ibn Khaldūn. From this we can infer the following important principles of educational philosophy:

(a) Religion and ideology should be the basis of education. If it is torn away from the religion of the people it will defeat its purpose.

(b) The spiritual interpretation of life should be the corner stone of an Islamic system of education. The most important element of the theory of knowledge is the concept of reality. In Islām, God is the fundamental reality and everything else owes its existence to the word

1 It comes to 478 pages in Franz Rosenthal's translation of the *Muqaddimah* see Franz Rosenthal, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah, an introduction to History*, N. Y. 1958.

2 *The Muqaddimah*, Chapter VI (27), pp. 156, 171 in Vol. III.

3 *Ibid.* (4 & 5), Vol. II, pp. 419, 422.

of God. This makes the natūre of reality spiritual.

(c) Interpretation of the entire corpus of data yeilded by different sciences is to be done according to this principle.

(d) Different priorities are to be assigned to different areas of knowledge. All sciences are not at par with each other. They should be classified according to their spiritual, moral and material usefulness and the basic approach should remain moral and spiritual.

(e) If there is a conflict between the values and tenets given by Islām and the result yielded by some of the sciences, the former is to prevail upon the latter.

These inferences from the thought of Ibn Khaldūn have great bearing upon the formulation of any educational philosophy.

Coming to the practical side of the problem, Ibn Khaldūn says as a corollary of the above approach that the *Qur'ān*, being as it is the word of God revealed to His Prophet, should not be taught in the traditional and rigid manner. It should be taught in a lively manner so that the student may be benifitted by its teachings. In this connection he criticises the various methods adopted by the teachers of the *Qur'ān* in the Maghrib, Spain, Ifriqiayah and the East.[1] He advocates a rational approach towards the *Qur'ān*. Ibn Khaldūn acknowledges the importance of *Ḥadīth*, Jurisprudence, poetry and Arabic philology but he does not want to make the students learn all these sciences by heart without developing a keen understanding of the *Qur'ān*. He bases the educational system on the ideology of the *Qur'ān* and calls it the symbol of Islām.[2]

Given this basic approach, acquisition of knowledge as a whole is the second ideal laid down by Ibn Khaldūn. He says that we should not confine our study to the religious sciences

1 *The Muqaddamah*, Chap. VI (27) ; Vol. III (38), p. 300.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 300.

alone, nor should we involve ourselves too much in such controversies. Instead, we should look at life as a whole, its total flow and all-embracing nature must be acknowledged. The organic unity of life and of knowledge is fundanmental to Ibn Khaldūn's system. This would mean that there must be a close co-ordination between different sciences and arts. The subject should be well connected and integrated. We should not lose sight of the practical importance for the students.

The aim of education should be the production of a healthy and balanced mind and body. There should be no inconsistency between thought and action. He says that action should correspond to one's thinking. He says the Man is the only animal who is gifted with this facility which includes sensual perception, spiritual perception and speculative intellect.[1] These faculties when developed result in a fertile and cheerful mind and body.

Keeping in view the above mentioned aims of education Ibn Khaldun criticizes the system of education prevalent during his own times and develops a scheme of curricula. In the religious sciences he includes *Qur'ān*, *Tafsīr*, *Sunnah*, Jurisprudence, Sufism and the interpretation of dreams. In the intellectual sciences he includes, Logic, Astronomy, Physics, Metaphysics, Mathematics and Music. He also discusses some of the major causes of decline in educatioual standards. He says that those whose mother tongue is not Arabic face much difficulty in following scientific principles. Therefore more importance should be given to language.[2] At some places the rigidity of scholars and at some other places their laxity causes harm to the seekers after knowledge and truth.[3] The political instability and split up of the Muslim state is another cause of their general decline in education and science.

Ibn Khaldūn has suggested a number of steps for the improvement of educational standards. He says that there should be

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1 *The Muqaddimah*, Chap. VI (27); Vol. II, p. 411.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III (43), p. 315.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol, III (30). p. 246.

exactness and clarity in thought. Students should not study too many problems at the same time. Instead first of all they should concentrate on general statements and then they may proceed to a study of particular problems.[1] In other words, he finds the deductive method more appropriate for the students. He strongly objects to the use of summaries and abridgements of scholarly works by the students.[2] He wants them to study the original works with the help of their guides and teachers.[3] He also opposes the harsh methods of punishment used by the teachers.[4] He says that teacher should act in a fatherly manner and should avoid harsh punishments to the maximum possible extent.

When we look upon the ideas of Ibn Khaldūn his thinking appears much ahead of his time. He has touched all those problems which we name as the problems of curricula, ideology, and culture.

In the end we may say that (a) Ibn Khaldūn has tried to develop an educational philosophy on the basis of the principles and norms given by Islām ; (b) he has also given a critique of the systems of education prevalent in his own times and has shown that how far it is removed from the ideals of Islām and also how far it fails to develop technical proficiency in the people, and (c) he has made important references to certain changes that he wants to make in the system to conform it to his ideas.

A programme for educational reconstruction can be formulated on the basis of the educational ideas of Ibn Khaldūn.

1 *The Muqaddamah* Chap. VI (27) ; Vol, III, (37), p. 293.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol, III (35), p. 290.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III (36), p. 292.
4 *Ibid*, Vol. III (39), p. 305.

THE JIZYAH OR THE CAPITATION TAX

by

ANWAR AHMED ALAWI, KARACHI

The controversy over this question is of a long standing. The foreign Historians have twisted its form and shape in such a way as to make it hateful and loathsome to other nations, specially the Hindus. The *jizyah* was not originated by the Muslims, but was in existence before Islām; the Muslims adopted it as a useful measure. This will become clear by an examination of (1) its etymology and the various meanings of the word "*JIZYAH*". (2) the date of its institution in Persia and Arabia, and (3) the reasons which led the Muslims to adopt it: (1) The word *jizyah* according to *Qāmūs* "is a tax on land and a capitation tax imposed on non-Muslim subjects". According to *Burhān-i-Qāṭi*' "*Gazit*" (گزیت) is money collected by the officer of a Government from its subjects, and is also called *Kharāj* (tribute). It also means the money leveid from non-Muslim subjects as the poet Niẓāmi says :—

گہش خاقان خراج چیں فرستد

گہش قیصر گزیت دیں فرستد

Thus it is clear that the word '*Jizyah*' is the same in Arabic as the word *gazit* in Persian. The *Jizyah* was in use in Arabia long before the appearence of Islām. From historical sources it is proved beyond doubt that Nūshirwān first made regulations for the collection of *Jizyah* and as the rule of the Persians at that time extended also over Yaman and the surrounding country, consequently the word "*Gazit*" came to be introduced into Arabia in its technical legal sense and in later times assumed the more Arabic form of *Jizyah*. The Arabic language has borrowed more words from Persian than from any other foreign language, and a

conquered people would naturally first adopt the technical administrative terms of its conquerers.

(2) The laws relating to tribute and *jizyah* can be traced back to the reign of King Nū<u>sh</u>irwān, the Just.

Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr in his account of the rules laid down by Nū<u>sh</u>īr-wān respecting the tribute and the army says that "he caused a survey to be made of all the country, fixed the rates of the revenue and imposed *Jizyah* on each of his subjects with the exception of those who were serving in the army connected with the nobles of the court. The various rates of this *Jizyah* were 12, 8, 6 or 4 dirhams a head (one dirham=about 5 d). The same author mentions that 'Umar excepted from this tax all persons below 20 and above 50. The reasons for this exception by Nū<u>sh</u>īrwān were as follows: "Those who served in the army were defenders of their country and risked their lives for its sake, it was then only right that the rest of the subjects of the crown should contribute some fixed sum in order to compensate them for their services.

The account of Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr is confirmed by the account given by Firdawsi who says, "all the governors gathered themselves together and measured out the land and imposed a tax (*Gazit*) in dirhams, provided that the husband man was in a prosperous condition: six dirhams on fruitful Vineyards and the same on date gardens. He who had wealth but no land, and had not to spend himself in tilling must pay a tax (*Gazīt*) of 1 to 4 dirhams every year but the ministers and courtiers were exempt".[1]

(3) According to the Islamic law every Musalman might at any time be called up to serve in the army. Islām claimed no right, forcibly to lay the burden of military service on any non-Muslim who happened to be a subject of any Muslim state whose

1 *<u>Sh</u>āh Nāmah*, Ed. Vullers V, 1497—1541 etc.

همه بادشاهان شدند انجمن　　زمین را به سنجید و برزد رسن
دبیر و پر ستندهٔ شهریار　　نه بودے به دیوان کسے را شمار

life and property were under its protection. It was only just that they should pay some tax for their protection, and this tax was *Jizyah*. But if any non-Muslim tribe joined the army or promised to do so, it was at once released from payment of *Jizyah*, as will be seen from historical instances quoted below. Both in theory and practice, protection was looked upon by the Muslims as the legitimate equivalent of the *Jizyah*. This may explain why etymologists never looked to Persian language for any explanation of the word : they derived it from "Jaza" (exchange or compensation), and explained it as being the tax taken in compensation of certain services, rendered. This may be wrong from the philological point of view, yet it is certainly in harmony with historical facts. The treaties drawn up by the Prophet and the Caliphs show clearly that *Jizyah* was given in return for protection. When any Non-Muslim tribe made treaties with the Muslims and agreed to pay *Jizyah* the following stipulations were made :—

(1) They will be protected against their enemies.

(2) They will not have to go to the collector to pay the *jizyah*.

(3) Their life, their property, their merchandise and their land will be inviolable.

(4) Their priests will not be removed from their places.

(5) Their Churches will be free from all interference.

(6) They will not be forced to change their religion.

The Prophet himself, in an order addressed to the Governor of Aylah, states that "the inhabitants should be protected and defended against their enemies." Among the admonitions given by 'Umar on his death bed was the principle that, "Non-Muslims who are our subjects are under the protection of God and of His Prophet and it is the duty of Musalmans to resist their enemies in their defence." The translation of the following treaty will go further to prove more clearly that *Jizyah* was a tax paid in return for protection given.

Khālid Ibn al-Walid's treaty with *Ṣalūba Ibn Nasṭūnā* and his tribe :—I have made an agreement with you in respect of *jizyah* and protection. The responsibility of protecting you lies upon us. So long as this protection is given you, we have a right to receive *jizyah* otherwise not. This was written in the month of Ṣafar, A. H. 12.

From these and other historical instances, it is clear that the institution of *Jizyah* as it was found in Muslim times rested on the very same principle as Nūshīrwān had laid down. If any doubts still remains, the following instance can not but put them to rest. In the reign of Caliph 'Umar the Islamic armies had gained notable victories in Syria. The Emperor Heraclius raised an enormous army to crush the rising Muslim Power.

The Muslims had to collect themselves in full force to meet the enemy. Abū 'Ubaydah, the general of the army, wrote at once to the governors of the conquered towns of Syria to the following effect :—

"Refund to the people all the money that has been collected as tribute and *Jiziyah* and tell them that all that we took in this way, was taken on the condition that we should protect them against their enemies, but owing to our present circumstances we are unable any longer to undertake such a charge."

This order was fully carried out and large sums from the state treasury were returned to the people. How much money was returned can be easily proved by knowing the fact that the town of Ḥimṣ alone received eight lakhs of rupees. When these sums were returned, the Christians called blessings on the Muslims and said, "May God give you rule over our towns again. The Romans on such occasions, instead of giving us back our money, would have robbed us of all our possessions."

That *Jizyah* was a compensation for protection given to the *Dhimmis* is also proved from the fact that if any non-Muslim tribe accepted military service, it was exempted from *Jizyah*. In the time of the third Caliph Ḥaḍrat 'Uthmān, when Ḥabib Ibn Maslamah

conquered the Jarjimah tribe, they of their own accord elected to join the Muslim army in case of emergency, and for this reason the whole tribe was exempted from the payment of *Jizyah*.

The *Jizyah* was never a poll tax can also be proved by the fact that sometimes the collectors were men of that very tribe which paid it. When in the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām, Transiania was conquered, the tax from Jews was collected by the chief Rabbi, that of the Christians by the Bishops and that of the Magians by the Marzuban. Muḥammad b. Qāsim, the Arab conqueror, of Sind, had entrusted the collection of the tax to the Brahmins.

The money obtained from *Jizyah* was generally spent on (1) the equipment of the army, (2) the defence of the frontier, (3) the erection of forts: and whatever remained was spent on the building of bridges, making of roads and the promotion of education. The sum raised exclusively from Musalmans as alms (*Ṣadaqah*) was equally shared by non-Muslims. Ḥaḍrat 'Umar gave instructions to the chief officer of the state treasury to remember that in the words of God: "Alms are for the poor and needy". (انما الصدقات للفقراء والمساكين) and "needy" included both Christians and Jews.

Having considered all these aspects of the question, let us see what were the rates of this *Jizyah* that was imposed upon persons other than Muslims.

The largest sum taken annually as *Jizyah* from each person was never more that 30 francs. Even a millionaire was not required to pay more than this. The normal rates of *Jizyah* were from 4½ to 9 francs annually. Persons below 20 and above 50 years of age, women, the palsied, the maimed, the blind, the insane and the poor who possessed not more than 200 dirhams were all exempt from the payment of this tax.

Now arise some questions: "Can a tax so light, and the payment of which relieved men from the dangers of military service and the origin of which can be traced back to Nūshīrwān,

the Just, be the object of so much hatred and oppression as some western writers have imagined it to be ? Would any one abandon his religion merely to gain exemption from so light a tax ?

Hitherto, we have discussed the *Jizyah* in its general details, *viz.*, its etymology, its definition, its application, its limitations, etc. Now let us view it from a different angle. The western writers on Indian History have put down *Jizyah* in such a way as to make it look as something hateful and repugnant to the Hindus in general. They regard it as a religious tax imposed upon them by the conquerors for not accepting their faith. However it is been cleared that neither in theory nor in practice was *Jizyah* ever meant to be a religious tax. More surprising is the fact that from the time that the Arabs conquered Sind and Muḥammad b. Qāsim imposed *Jizyah* to the time of Akbar, every Muslim king of Delhi had this tax levied and collected. No hue and cry was ever raised, no protest, and no complaints made against it.

The historians, too, paid no attention to bring it into special light. What impelled Akbar to abolish it cannot be said. Perhaps led by his over zealous admirers—the Nagawrī brothers—or his own passion to prove himself more broadminded, he took this step. Was it at all necessary to abolish it to build a united India ? Was there no United India in the times of 'Alā al-Dīn, Muḥammad b. Tughluq, Fīrūz, Sikandar and Shir Shāh ; all of whom had imposed this tax ? Anyway it was his conviction and he did it. Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān did not revive it, but they continued to levy other taxes such as *rāhdārī*, *pāndārī*, *bargadī*, *sar shumārī*, *charāī*, *banjārā*, *tuena*, etc., which were all imposed by Akbar and paid by Hindus without grudge. All these had not been sanctioned by the cannon law. 'Ālamgīr on his accession, abolished all such anti-religious taxes which numbered eighty in all.

This easily proves that 'Ālamgīr, though he revived *Jizyah*, abolished so many other taxes and thus relieved the peop'e of the burden under which they had groaned since the days of Akbar.

There seems, therefore, no justification to accuse him of imposing a new tax. In determining the equity of taxation, the amount of taxation should be taken into consideration and not its various heads. It has been established beyond doubt that people paid less under 'Ālamgīr than they did under his three immediate predecessors.

There is an allegation against 'Ālamgīr from certain quarters that styling himself the champion of faith he wanted to convert the Hindus indirectly, and this he desired to achieve by imposing the *Jizyah* again. That the *Jizyah* was not intended to bring about the forced conversion of the Hindus is further proved by the fact that the servants of the state were exempted from payment. This exemption can be explained on the principle that there was no reason for levying it on those who discharged their duties towards the state by serving in the civil department and the army. Iswar Das says, "His Majesty issued an order that, excepting servants of the state other non-Muslims should pay at the following rates. From the rich with an income of Rs. 2,500, Rs. 13 should be taken from the middle Class with an income of Rs. 250, Rs. 6/8/-. From the poor having an income of more than Rs. 52 and leaving a margin above the cost of supporting himself, his family and children Rs. 3/4/- should be taken".

The *Jizyah* could not be a heavy burden on the poor. They were required to pay when their income left a surplus over and above the cost of maintaining themselves and their families. Moreover the middle class could pay in two instalments, and the poor in four, they could also pay in kind and if anyone was ill for six months, he was free from all liability. Further, if after assessment of the tax, a year had elapsed and the *Jizyah* had not been collected for some reason other than the carelessness of the collectors, and the second year had begun to run, the arrears of the first year were not to be realized. It was once reported that the people of Hyderabad, owing to poverty, were unable to pay *Jizyah*. 'Ālamgir thereupon ordered complete immunity from all

kinds of taxes for one year. Besides the poor, the priests, the women, the children, the crippled, the blind, the insane were also exempted and only such men were required to pay it who were able bodied and could discharge their duties towards the state in any form.

In conclusion, it may be emphasized that the *Jizyah* was neither a heavy burden on the people nor a poll tax. It is true that it was lavied on Non-Muslims only, but in a similar way *zakāt* was levied on Muslims only.

GLIMPSES OF THE MARITIME HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

by

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We are told that our country is a "historical anachronism" and a "geographical monstrosity" since we lack "territorial" contiguity. Of course, the geographical lay-out of our land is a liability to us in many ways. But it is also an asset, which is peculiar to us and determines our national identity. It is the geographical fact of our being the rimland, flanking the Indian heartland, that has shaped our history and moulded our character—the two unifying forces of our national life than transcend our regional as well as religious diversities.

Much is made of the absence of continental contiguity between the two wings of our country. But a simple fact of political geography is ignored, namely, that for many nations, like the Indonesians and the Filippinoes and the more advanced Japanese and the Britishers, territorial contiguity is determined by *maritime* and not *territorial* links. Identifying of continental contiguity with the territorial, is typical of the landlubber's outlook on life, which was imposed on us by our foreign masters, the continental empire-builders, the horsemen from the steppes of Central Asia, who built their imperial centres in the heartland, away from sea and inaccessible to sea-power.

Long back in history the manly art of sea-faring used to be a part of our national culture and character. At the dawn of history we find sailing ships plying on the waters of the mighty Indus and its tributaries and along the Kich-Makran-Kachh coast of the Arabian Sea. The prosperity of the Harappa civilization depended to a large extent on its overseas trade with Babylonia. Seals of

Indus Valley workmanship have been found in considerable numbers in the Sumerian cities. Mackay surmised that trade was carried on between the Indus cities and distant Sumer partly at least by sail rather than solely by caravan across what "may have been not wholly friendly territory". Aurel Stein's exploration and investigation in Gedrosia (Makran) show that the sea-board must also have been considerably nearer in the days of prosperity of Mohenjodaro than now, as it is known to have been at Ur in the third millennium B.C.[1] Recent excavations at the Harappan city of Lothal, situated near the northern end of the Gulf of Cambay, where a unique baked-brick built dockyard has been discovered, show the extent of the maritime activities of the Harappans.[2] Their maritime trade is no longer a matter of conjecture; it is, now, a confirmed fact. On the Makran coast, Sutkagen-dor, on the valley of the Dasht river, and Sotka-koh, on the Shadi Kaur river valley, were important Harappan outposts, serving also as ports of call of the coasting vessels.[3] Extensive excavations of the archaeological sites of the Makran coast are keenly awaited and are long over-due.

Maritime activities of the Harappans seem to have come to an end for a considerable time, after the coming of the Aryans, who were nomadic horsemen of the steppes, land-locked people, afraid of the sea. However, the powerful Sindhu-Sauviras who lived in the country around the great harbour-town of ancient times, Bahmanabad (Patala of Alexander's historians and al-Mansurah of the Arabs), appear to have revived and further

1 E. J. H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro, 1927-1931*, New Delhi, 1938, p. 5; Aurel Stein, *The Archaeological Tour of Gedrosia*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 71.

2 R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, *The Indus Civilization*, Supplementary Volume to C. H. I., Cambridge University Press, 1960, pp. 51-52; *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1956-57 and 1967-68, Department of Archaeology, Government of India, New Delhi.

3 K. V. Hariharan, 'The Proto-historic Phase of Indian Shipping', in *Indian Shipping* (Journal of the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association, Bombay), April 1965, pp. 39-43.

developed the maritime traditions of the Harappans. Modern Indian scholarship maintains that the biblical references (viz. I Kings ix. 27-28; x. 11-23; II Chronicles ix. 10-22) to the rich maritime trade of Ophir, a much-debated toponym, allude to these people. Hebrew 'Ophir' and its Septuagint version 'Sophara' seem to have preserved the *Mahabharata* name 'Sauvira'.[1] The Tamil Word '*tokei*' meaning 'a peacock'—one of the items of trade exported by Ophir—may be traced in the Dravidian Brahui language of the Sauvira region. On the other hand, Professor Albright has some epigraphical evidence to show that Ophir is the Hebrew name for Somaliland and neighbouring areas, which are called 'Punt' in the Egyptian records.[2] This writer presumes that the Punt region, on the Horn of Africa, had a settlement of the Sauviras, which served as an intermediate station for their extensive maritime activities. Prince Vijaya, the legendary leader of the Aryan settlers of Ceylon, who came from Lala (Lar, i.e. Lower Sind), according to Ceylonese historical traditions, must be a Sauvira. Linguistic affinities of the Sinhalese with the western Prakrit, the language of the Sindhu-Sauvira region, is an unmistakable evidence of the Sauvira origin of the Sinhalis.[3] References to Kambojas—a people of early times originally living in the north-western region of Pakistan—in the Brahmi inscriptions of Ceylon and to a Kambojagama in Rohana near the sacred mountain of that island in an early Pali text show that at least some of the Aryan settlers of Ceylon had migrated to Lar, i.e. the Sauvira

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1 R. C. Majumdar *et al* (ed.), *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Bombay, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 611-12.

2 W. F. Albright, 'ivory and Apes of Ophir, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 37, (1922), pp. 144-45. Professor Albright's attempt to find an Egyptian derivatian for Herbrew *thuke-im* has not been generally accepted, *cf.* Thomas O. Lambdin, 'Egyptian Loanwords in the Old Testament' *Journal of the American Oriental Studies*, Vol. 73 (1953), pp. 145-55.

3 H. C. Ray (ed.), *History of Ceylon*, University of Ceylon Press, 1959, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 37; Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta University Press, 1926, Vol. II, pp. 15 & 72, n. I.

region, from the lands of the upper Indus some time before they colonized Ceylon.[1]

The Greek accounts of Alexander's building of a fleet of about two thousand vessels on the banks of the Hydaspes[2] (Jhelum), the embarkation of his vast, world-conquering army from a river-harbour, which is identified to have been located some five miles northeast of the present town of Jhelum, and their successful sailing all the way down to the estuary of the Indus on their way back home—all these show that the maritime activities were not confined to the early Pakistanis living in the coastal regions of lower Sind but had spread far inland to the upper reaches of the Indus.

But, perhaps, the greatest navigators of this part of the world were the Meds[3] (Medes), who appear to have migrated from their original homes in northwestern Iran, on the banks of the Caspian Sea, to the coasts of Makran and Sind—most probably as a result of the conquests of Cyrus the Great (550 B. C.). Their early history is wrapt in mystery. They came in the blaze of history with the rise of the Muslim naval power under the efficient leadership of Mu'āwiyah (r. 41/661-60/680). From that time till the end of the reign of al-Mu'taṣim (218/833-227/842) there was a bitter struggle for supremacy in the Arabian Sea between these Vikings of the Indian Ocean and the Arabs. Muḥammad b. Qāsim's conquest of Sind (93/712) was a phase of this struggle. The Arabs combined their naval strength with their overwhelming power on land and the Meds had to succumb. Most of them migrated further east to the Kathiawar coast and the Rajputana desert. Their surviving descendants, now living in Lasbela and other coastal towns and villages of the Makran district, earn their living through the hazardous occupation of sea-fishing but have little in

1 H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-94.

2 V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, Oxford University Press, 1960.

3 V. Minorsky, art. 'Mand', Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st Ed., *Bombay Presidency Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 135-47.

common with the pirates of the early Christian centuries. Nevertheless, in the words of the *Makran District Census Report, 1961* :

> they are strong and athletic, capable of performing marvellous feats of strength and possessing great powers of endurance on the sea.[1]

Except for these tenacious sea-farers, the successive waves of the conquests of Turks, Afghans and Mughuls—all landlubbers—destroyed the maritime traditions of the western Pakistanis.

At the time when the deadly struggle of the Meds (Medes) with the Umayyads had started, there arose on the eastern horizon of the rimland a new sea-power—that of the Palas of Bengal. They were also great patrons of Buddhist learning and culture and built great universities at Nalanda, Uddandapura and Vikramasila and magnificent *viharas* at Paharpur and Mainamati. Of these, the Somapura *vihara* of Paharpur (Rajshahi district) is especially remarkable, as the great Barabodur *vihara* of Java is built on its model. It was mostly from these centres of Buddhism built by the Palas of the eastern rimland that Buddhist monks and missionaries spread all over Southeast Asia (and to Tibetan China in the north). The success that the Palas achieved in spreading Buddhism—its Tantrayana school—and Buddhist culture in south-east Asian islands could be possible only through their navigational prowess. Barabodur *vihara* of Java has a number of excellent sculptured panels showing hardy sailors "from above the wind", sailing their ships over stormy waves of the Indian Ocean. In these panels we get a glimpse of those great sailors of the eastern rimland of the Pala age.[2]

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1 Government of Pakistan, *Makran District, Census Report, 1961*, Pt. I, p. 15.

2 J. N. Sarkar (ed.) *History of Bengal*, Dacca University Press, 1943, Vol. I, pp. 417-20; R. E. M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, London, 1950, p. 98 ; Radhakumud Mukerji, *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times*, Longman's, 1912, p. 156; Devaprassad

After a short eclipse of sea-faring and see-trade, because of the political upheavals that preceded as well as followed the conquest of Bengal by Muḥammad Bakhtiyar Khalji (1204 A.D.), we arrive at the most glorious period of the history of the eastern rimland, i.e. the two centuries of independent Muslim rule over Bengal (1338-1538 A. D.). During this period we see Sunargaon (now a desolate village in the Dacca district) and Chittagong visited by the globe-trotter from Tangier in the Far West, Ibn Baṭṭūtah (1345-46 A. D.), and the greatest Muslim Admiral, Haji Cheng Ho, from Canton in the Far East (1406 A. D.). The accounts left by these eminent guests of the eastern rimland speak of unparalleled prosperity in the country and of its busy port-towns.[1] From the Chinese annals we also know about frequent exchanges of embassies between the courts of the Ilyas Shahis and Husain Shahis of Bengal and the Mings of China.[2]

Early in the sixteenth century, the Portugese swept over the seas and coasts of the East, but they could not make much headway in the Bay of Bengal so long as it remained in the hands of the independent Sulṭāns. Their venerable historian, Tome Pires, writing in 1516 A. D., states:

> The Bengalis are great merchants with large fortunes and very independent, brought upto trade.[3]

He found these hardy sailors from the eastern rimland spread all over Sumatra and Malaya, doing successful trade, or settled there

Ghosh, 'Early Art of Srivijaya', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I, No. 1, (1934), pp. 31-38; *Idem*, 'Sources of the Early Art of Srivijaya', JGIS, Vol. II, No. 1 (1936), pp. 50-56; Himansu Bhushan Sarkar, 'Two Notes on the Cultural Contact between Java and Bengal', JGIS, Vol. I, No. 1 (1934), pp. 58-57.

1 Mehdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battutah*, Gaīkwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1953, p. 242; G. Phillips, 'Ma Huan's Account of the Kingdom of Bengala', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1895, Pt. III, pp. 531-32.

2 P. C. Bagchi, 'Political Relations between Bengal and China in the Pathan Period', *Visva-Bharati Annals*, 1945, Vol. I, Cheena Bhavan, pp. 96-135.

3 *The Suma Oriental*, trans. & ed. A. Z. Cortesao, Hakluyt, 1944, Vol. I, p. 88.

as fishers, tailors and workmen. Even the ruling dynasty of North Sumatra was, according to him, of "Bengali descent".[1]

The maritime traditions of the eastern rimlanders, the foundations of which were firmly laid by the Palas and which were brought to their zenith by the Ilyās Shāhīs and Ḥusayn Shāhīs, are reflected in the folk-literature of East Pakistan. The ballad of Naser Mallum (Nasir, the *Mu'allim*, i. e., the captain of the seas), Tamasa Ghazi's account of his sea voyages, the various ballads of Bhelua, the story of Nuranneha (Nūr-al-Nahār), the exploits of sea-merchants, like Meghua, Maḥmūd Ujjal and that veritable Sindbad of Bengali folklore, Chand Saudagar—all this rich literary treasure of East Pakistan gives "accounts of the ships sailing towards distant countries and of their return home laden with cargo.[2]

It is interesting to note Professor Radhakumud Mukerji's remarks on the maritime enterprise of the Bengalis. He writes:

> Sailors for sea-going vessels were then, as now, recruited from the people of East Bengal.[3]

East Pakistan produced not only excellent sailors, but also good ocean-going ships. Caesaro Frederica, a Venetian merchant who travelled in Asia from 1563 to 1581, writes:

> Sandwip island near Chittagong is building ships even for the Sulṭān of Turkey who finds it cheaper to have his vessels built here than at Alexandria.[4]

These traditions received a serious setback when, in 1576 A. D., Bengal was finally annexed to the continental empire of the Moghuls. As a province of the empire of the Moghuls it now

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1 *The Suma Oriental*, trans. & ed. A. Z. Cortesao. Hakluyt, 1944, Vol. I pp. 92-93 and pp. 142-43; S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963, pp. 10-16.

2 Dinesh Chandra Sen, *Enstern Bengal Ballads*, Calcutta University Press, Vol. IV, Pt. 1, p. xxvii.

3 Radhakumud Mukerji, *Indian Shipping, op. cit.*, p. 159.

4 Quoted by L. S. S. O'Malley, *Eastern Bengal District Gazetteers : Chittagong*, Calcutta, 1908, p. 26.

looked westwards to the imperial cities of Delhi and Agra. It turned its back to the sea and fell an easy prey to the piratical raids of the Maghs and the Portuguese.[1] This was despite the best efforts of some of the most competent governors who were deputed to Bengal. The Moghul occupation of Bengal, thus, literally cleared the coast for western penetration into the subcontinent.

Bengali colonization overseas stopped and soon became a thing of the past, forgotten. Now 'Bengali' in the Malay-Indonesian language means 'a Sikh', for under the British rule Sikhs used to go to those islands and peninsula as soldiers and camp-followers, from the Bengal port of Calcutta.[2]

The British were naturally not very keen to encourage their subject people to use the ladder through which they had themselves climbed to unparalleled power, prestige and prosperity. Only Britannia did—and could—rule the waves: that was the order of the day.

Our independence has now revolutionized the situation. We have to revive our sea-faring traditions of Ilyās Shāhī and Ḥusayn Shāhī days. Solidarity of Pakistan and her integration will remain a fragile affair unless we again become a maritime nation. This is one of the lessons which, in this writer's view, the September War taught us.

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1 J. N. Sarkar, 'The Feringi Pirates of Chatgaon', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. III, No. 6, June 1907, p. 423.

2 Wilkinson's *Malay—English Dictionary*, s. v. Benggala', 'Benggali'.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MUSLIM HISTORIOGRAPHY

by

MISS. HAMIDA MURTAZA, KARACHI

The writing of the history was one of the earliest disciplines cultivated by the Arabs after the rise of Islām. The main incentives for developing a taste in the study of history were : (1) Natural interest of Muslim Arabs in legends and anecdotes relating to pre-Islamic days (known as *Ayyām*) with their inter-tribal wars and epoch-making events such as the breaking of the MARIBDAM, the digging of the ZAM ZAM well and the expedition of the owners of the elephants (*Qur'ān*, 105), (2) The interest of the believers in collecting traditions (*Ḥadīth*) relating to the Prophet and his followers, and (3) the necessity of ascertaining the genealogical relationship of each Muslim Arab, his kinship to the Prophet and his precedence.

Thus the earliest sources for Islamic History were the pre-Islamic stories transmitted by words of mouth, oral traditions relating to the life and campaigns of the Ḥoly Prophet and his Companions, and poetical compositions including ballads and the *Holy Qur'ān*.

Ibn Al-Nadim mentions a Yamanite story teller, 'Abid Ibn Sharyah who composed for Caliph Mu'āwiyah (661-680), several works dealing with the ancient history of South Arabia, one of which survived until the time of Al-Mas'udi.

A Spanish writer Ibn 'Abd al-Barr collected traditions on the subject, that Islām cancels all that was before. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr cites some traditions which contradicted those according to which writing was even commanded by the Holy Prophet. He assigns two reasons for absence of written material on *Ḥadīth*. One is the extraordinary retentiveness of the Arab memories, which

rendered the committal of literary matter to writing down his traditions unnecessary, as their memories were sufficiently tenacious to be able to dispense with such aids. The other was the fear of making written *Ḥadīth* a rival to the *Qur'ān.*

The work of remembering the traditions by heart was done systematically and permission or "Ijāzah" had to be taken for communication, either from the author personally or by some authorised narrator. Men used to travel long distances to hear and collect *Ḥadīth* and history. These journeys of the *Muhaddithīn* were known as *Rihlah fiṭalab-i-'ilm.*

The interpretation of the *Qur'ān* rendered certain historical knowledge indispensible especially during the Madīnah period, because it was necessary to determine the occasions in connection with which texts were revealed.

Another reason for retaining an account of the history of Islām in chronological order was the principle whereby rank was determined by precedence in accepting Islām. Most of the writers who composed their histories were not court chronicles but as persons whose tastes had led them to pursue studies of this kind, like Ṭabari who himself was a landed proprietor. Among Arab historians, in the words of Buckle, "we find certain method devised by the Arabic historian for ensuring accuracy in the record of events." Neither the Greeks nor the Romans nor the Biblical writers give exact dates of facts narrated by them. The method invented by the Muslims to secure exactitude was the *Isnād*, the chain of authorities whereby a narrative was traced to the original eye-witness who narrated it. Islamic History owes nothing to Greek or to Persian concepts of History. We have the dictum "Poetry is the *Dīwān* of the Arabs". The Register of their deeds. This is confirmed by the evidenee of the *Qur'ān.*

The Ḥistorians in the period to which some of the most important of them belong actually preferred oral communications to written records. The arguments in its favour were that Islām

cancelled all that was before it ; that there should be no written book except *Qur'ān* ; that the profession of *Huffāz* rendered written books superfluous ; and finally, that the written documents were untrustworthy.

The Medina being the seat of the Prophet's government, it was but natural that it became the centre of learning also. Persons who possessed a store of information which was likely to attract an audience began to be called *Qussas*, (narrators); they formed circles in the mosques and narrated facts and stories. The narrations were most likely to attract a large audience, if they were about the Prophet or prominent personages in the History of Islām, or if they were in any way connected with the verses of the *Qur'ān*, and the material accumulated round these names is due to their efforts.

As the Islamic writers grew in number, many became anxious to know how their towns were founded and how their chief buildings had risen ; there also arose the questions arising from the tribal organisation of early Islām, whereby separate quarters were assigned to different tribes in the cities that were founded. For all these reasons historical science came into existence.

All the theories had in time to be modified. The interpretation of the *Qur'ān* rendered certain historical knowledge indispensible. The texts which deal with current events do not mention the proper names, except in very rare cases. A reason for retaining an account of the history of Islām in chronological order was the principle whereby much was determined by precedence in accepting Islām. The cities and countries conquered enjoyed different rights and status according to the nature of resistance which they had offered to the conquerors. The prosperity of early Islām had produced a leisured class, and archaeology was everywhere a favourite pursuit with such persons. For all these reasons historical science developed and indeed the needs and requirements of the legal system made it necessary. Moreover

the movement of Islām was continuous. The death of the Holy Prophet had not the consequences which often had followed on that of the founder of a system.

In the Arabic work *Mafātīḥ al-'Ulūm*, history is counted among the sciences indigenous to the Arabs. The science of evaluating the authenticity of the *aḥādīth* which had become current and determining the credibility of the persons who communicated them which was called Asma al-Rijāl laid the foundation of Arabic historical scholarship. Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām, Ma'mar Ibn al-Muthanna, Muḥammad Ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidi and Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari were pioneers in a long and illustrious line of historians, who first employed criticism in historical research and placed it on a scientific footing. The Arab spirit of scientific thought and systematic enquiry, which wrought a revolution in practically all the realms of knowledge, effected a transformation in the field of historiography, through the elevation of dry records of the past into a dynamic philosophy of social development.

In Arabic *Tārīkh* means both date and era. The word does not occur in pre-Islamic literature. The word *Tārīkh* is mentioned in Arabic iiterature, first together with the stories of the introduction of the Muslim era. The earlier Muslim historians usually restricted themselves to a brief reference to the battle days. Arabic historical works contain a great store of information about the south Arabian kings. The two technical terms by which the idea of history of commonly denoted in Arabic are ILM *al-Akhbār* and *Tārīkh*. *Akhbār* the plural of *Khabar* is the most general term. The oldest form is the well rounded description of a single event, usually of no more than a few pages. Such a description is called *Khabar*. *Khabar* is often used as a heading or title, alongside with the word "*dhikr*" report as well as occasionally "*Amr*" affairs or *ḥādīth* story of all which are used in the same manner. But the most popularly and widely accepted term is *Tārīkh*.

ROLE OF THE LATE AGA KHAN AS A LEADER OF THE MUSLIMS OF THE SUBCONTINENT IN THE POLITICAL FIELD

by

SHERALI ALIDINA, KARACHI

After the collapse of the Great Revolution of 1857, the Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were hounded out of all opportunities and employments. Full advantage of the hostile attitude of the British was taken by other communities who thus surpassed the Muslims in every field. It was the genius of Syed Ahmed Khan, which tried to bring about a change in their prejudices against the British. In 1875, Syed Ahmed Khan laid the foundation of the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. In 1885, Mr. Hume, an English retired member of I.C.S. established the Indian National Congress. The Muslims under the leadership of Syed Ahmed Khan were soon found trying to keep themselves aloof from the Congress because it had become obvious that its activities were by no mean favourable to them.

It was in the great hall of Aligarh College that in the year 1896 this grand old man of Muslim India met a very young man in whom he soon began to pin his hopes. His Highness Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah Prince Aga Khan had visited the college where Syed Ahmed Khan aged 82 welcomed him and presented an address in Persian to which the former also replied in Persian. Two years later Syed Ahmed Khan passed away.

In 1897 the Aga Khan presented three addresses of congratulations to the then Viceroy Lord Elgin at Simla ; one on behalf of his community, the other as leader of the Muslims of Western India and a third on behalf of a representative assemblage of the citizens of Bombay and Poona. In 1902, Prince Aga Khan was

appointed for two years a member of the Viceroy's Council, which in those days was a very influential body. He took his residence at Calcutta then capital of India.

The Aga Khan's appointment to the Viceroy's Legislative council at the age of 25 years, as he then was, proved an effective training ground for his future public and political life. Besides other important men, he came in close contact with Lord Curzon, Lord Kitchner and the great Indian Leader, Mr. Gokhale. He also kept. himself in touch with Nawab Viqarul Mulk and Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, whom he had met during his visit to Aligarh in 1896. In 1904 Aga Khan was again offered membership of the council for two more years but he did not accept it. I think it was mostly for the reason that he wanted to participate actively in politics, as the future events show. In 1902-03, he presided at the session of the All India Muslim Education Conference held at Delhi on the occasion of the Coronation of King Edward VII, and made a strong appeal to the Muslims to raise the Aligarh College to the status of a University.

His active participation in the public life for about ten years gave the young Aga Khan an insight into the condition of Muslim India. He recalls his impressions about this period in his *Memoirs* as under :

"At the same time I began to realise, during these two crucial years (when he was a member of Viceroy's Executive Council) that the Congress Party, the only active and responsible political organisation in the country, would prove itself incapable, was already proving itself incapable, of representing India's Muslims, or of dealing adequately or justly with the needs and aspirations of the Muslim community. The pressure of Hindu extremism was too strong. Already that artificial unity which the British Raj had imposed from without, was cracking. Deep seated and ineradicable differences expressed themselves once political activity and aspirations had advanced beyond the most elementary stage. The breach was there in Hindu intransigence and lack of perception of

basic Muslim ideals and hopes. I did all I could to prevent the breach widened. I maintained a campaign of remonstrance with Sir Pheroze Shah Mehta, who was high in the counsels of the Congress Party, who was a friend of my family and who had known me since childhood. I begged him to use his influen e and make Congress realise how important it was to win Muslim confidence. But all to no avail."

Having been disappointed at the attitude of the Hindu dominated Congress, Prince Aga Khan, and his old friend Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk along with other Muslims, thought of organizing the Muslims and safeguarding their interests. On 1st October 1906, after consultations with Prince Aga Khan Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, organized a deputation of 35 Indian Muslims, with the former as their leader, to present demands of Muslim India to the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, at Simla. The copy of the Address was prepared and sent in advance to the Viceroy, However while travelling from Colombo to Simla, His Highness telegrapically suggested certain additions and alterations from intervening stations to be made in it. The Address read before the Viceroy by Prince Aga Khan *inter alia* demanded what is known as seperate electorates for the Muslims of India. Hitherto the Congress which had numerical majority was persisting in ignoring the realities of communal situation and in sending only third rate Muslims from preponderantly Hindu provinces like Madras and Bombay. The Muslims, therefore, asked for their seperate representations at all levels of Government working—district boards, municipalities and legislative councils. They demanded that the elections for Muslims in these tiers should be held seperately and exclusively by them thus providing an opportunity to Muslim voters to return Muslim representatives according to their choice. In the Address Prince Aga Khan also laid great emphasis on the raising of the Aligarh College to a full fledged University.

On 1 October, 1906, the news of the demands of Muslims for seperate electorates spread like wild fire throughout the

length and breadth of India. The Congress raised a storm of protests. There was some so-called nationalist Muslims who ridiculed this step of their brethren.

To assert their stand and make known the correct view-point of Muslims, Prince Aga Khan thought that it was necessary to have a political platform and association for the Muslims of India. He, therefore. on 24th October, 1906 wrote a letter to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk which is a very important document in the History of Muslims of this subcontinent because with this document starts the Muslim League under whose flag the Muslims won their freedom and got Pakistan. The letter[1] is quoted below in full:

II, Elysium Road, Calcutta
24th October, 1906

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Perhaps I may be allowed as one, who took part in the recent deputation to H.E. the Viceroy to make a few suggestions as to future. The whole of the Mohammedan Community have taken the keenest interest in the movement and look to us to try our best to secure that the objects which were set forth in the address may be ultimately secured.

It may be well that provincial associations should be formed with the aim of safeguarding the political interests of Mohammedans in the various portions of India, and similarly some central organization for tne whole. On these matters, I do not wish to pronounce an opinion. They are best left I think to the discretion of the leaders in the days that are to come.

But as the deputation was formed with a view to the securing of certain definite objects of the most vital interest to Mohammedans as a whole, I venture to regard its work as begun only, and it seems to me from every point of view important that it should *without delay* continue its labours until complete success

1 For the original letter see Mohsinul Mulk papers at the Aligarh Muslim University Library.

has crowned its efforts. To this end, I would suggest that the deputation which presented the address resolve itself into a committee to endeavour to obtain the granting of the various prayers which the address embodied. This Mohammedan Committee for the completion of work of the deputation might, if it were thought necessary, add to its numbers, though I would suggest, in the interest of the rapid carrying out of its business, that this should be done *sparingly*, I am sure also that I express what is the wish of all my fellow Mohammedans when I ask you to continue to act as Secretary of this Committee.

Please circulate my letter among the members of the deputation.

I am, my dear Nawab Sahib,
Sincerely yours,
Aga Khan

P.S,

I further suggest that if any of the members of this committee be absent or unable to give proper attention the o her members should act without consulting him. However, this should not mean his resignation, but only his inability to be of service for the time being. Such an absent or indisposed member, unless directly asked to resign or himself resigns, will continue to be a permanent member of the Committee.

A.K.

It was decided to deliberate upon the contents of Prince Aga Khan's letter at the time of All India Muslim Educational Conference that was being held at Dacca. Consequently at a conference held there on 30th December, 1906 under the chairmanship of Nawab Viqarul Mulk a political institution known as the Muslim League was formed. The resolution for this was moved by the Nawab of Dacca Khwaja Salimullah who had earlier by the middle of December, elaborated a scheme in view of Aga Khan's letter. Both Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, as was the desire of the Aga Khan in his letter, were appointed

the secretaries. Prince Aga Khan was appointed its first Permanent President which office he occupied for six years till 1912. The second and third sessions of the League were held at Karachi which was attended by the Aga Khan and at Aligarh, in September 1907 and March 1908, respectively. Maulvi Mohammed Amin Zubairi in his urdu compilation "Prince Aga Khan" published in 1952, at page 121, says, "At that time it was very necessary to propagate and explain the aims and objects of the Muslim League as well as to have money for its office expenses. The League had no funds of its own. As such His Highness was good enough to fix an annual recurring grant and also contributed a lump-sum as initial grant. In the mean time at the initiative of His Highness a British branch of the All India Muslim League was formed in London with Sir Amirali as its Chairman. Here also all the expenses were given by the Aga Khan."

As a corollary to the political awakening of Muslims the Aga Khan took up the project of raising Aligarh College founded by Syed Ahmed Khan, to a University about which he had already emphasised in his speech in 1902. In 1911 the Aga Khan alongwith Maulana Shaukat Ali toured all over India and collected funds to get the status of a University for the Aligarh College. Maulana Shibli commenting on this work of the Aga Khan said, "What six crores of Muslims could not do Aga Khan alone did and got for the Muslims of India a University of their own". Looking back to the history of Muslim struggle in this subcontinent who can doubt that it was in the portals of Aligarh University that Pakistan was born.

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FACTORS LEADING TO THE MUSLIM DEMAND FOR SEPARATE REPRESENTATION

by

MUHAMMAD YOUSUF AKHTAR, LAHORE

The failure of the Great Revolt of 1857 which led to the transference of power to the British Crown was of great consequence for the Muslims. For them it meant the loss of an empire and slavery to an alien people. For the Hindus it was merely a change of masters. The British accused the Muslims of the Revolt[1] who had to bear the brunt of their wrath. As the British had snatched power from the hands of the Muslims, naturally the latter were not expected to be favourably inclined to the usurpers. They were suspected by the British, who now decided to crush their power once for all. Various measures were adopted for the purpose. To begin with, instructions were issued for the extermination of the 'rebels' by "Slaying them in fighting, by raising the people against them, by offering rewards for their seizure, by driving them on to destruction in the rivers in the hills and jungles."[2] Having thus dealt with them the British turned to the unarmed innocent civilians, thousands of whom were arrested on mere suspicion. The poor victims were then tried by "any two civil officers sitting in Commission," who had instructions to "execute capital sentence without further reference."[3] That the trials were mere farce is evident from the fact that while conducting the trials even the basic requirements of justice were not fulfilled. The accused were not allowed to say a word in self-defence or hire the services of a pleader.

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1 Latif, Abdul, *Athara-so-Sattawan Ka Tarikhi Roznamcha*, translated by Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Delhi, pp. 36-37.

2 *Report on measures adopted in the Punjab during the Mutiny*, Para 21. West Pak. Civil Secretariat Records Proceedings of 25 May 1858, file No. 75.

3 *Ibid.* For reference see the text.

Thus they were entirely at the mercy of the judicial commissioners.[1] Since the latter were bent upon awarding exemplary punishments; no wonder that the accused were either awarded capital punishment with all their properties confiscated, or were branded like animals[2], banished from the country[3], or sentenced for long terms. The entire Muslim population of Delhi was turned out of the city[4], their properties confiscated and places of worship turned into stables, treasury offices, or were closed down for prayers. Even the principal mosques—*Jāmi' Masjid* and *'Idgāh* were closed down and were not given up for public worship until November 1862.[5]

Before 1857, Muslims had the lion's share in all the services of the Empire. Now the doors of all government employment were closed on them.[6] Consequently hundreds of noble and

1 The most lamentable example of the British disregard of justice is afforded by the outright rejection of an application filed by F. Fenwick, a licensed English Advocate of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, praying to be allowed to appear for the defence of certain persons under trial. The Commissioners to whom the application was made, were unanimous in their decision that the permission could not be accorded. Thereupon, Fenwick filed an appeal to the Chief Commissioner, Punjab, against the decision of the Commissioners. In his application the advocate appealed to the Chief Commissioner's sense of justice by remarking that "the permission in some cases" to be defended by advocates, refusal in other shows a degree of partiality which is most unbecoming in a court composed of English Judges. But the appeal appears to have fallen on deaf ears as the Chief Commissioner turned it down on the pretext that "that court is a quasi political character." See West Pakistan Civil Secretariat Records Judicial Department Proceedings of 8 May 1858. File Nos. 5-6.

2 Act 32 of 1857 was especially passed for the purpose. See : West Pakistan Civil Secretariat Records Judicial Department Proceedings of 10 July 1858. File Nos. 1-3.

3 *Ibid.* Proceedings of 12 September 1857, File Nos. 29.30.

4 Proceedings of General Department of 1 January 1859, file Nos. 11-12.

5 *Ibid.* Proceedings of 11 February 1860. File Nos. 43-44.

6 In *the Indian Mussalmans*, W. W Hunter has given a graphic account of the systematic exclusion of the Muslims from the Government employment and their replacement by the Hindus.

once prosperous families were ruined. However, the change did not affect the Hindus so adversely as it did the Muslims. They had nothing to lose, on the contrary, they were to gain a lot. Ever since their assuming power in Bengal, the relations of the British with the Hindus were more than cordial. In Bengal the latter had supplanted the Muslims in every sphere of life and those belonging to other areas were fast acquiring Western knowledge to get closer to the British. The new rulers needed the sympathies and cooperation of a people who were not only favourably inclined to them but could also be able to render their task easier. Naturally, they could turn to the Hindus who being already closer to them; well equipped with Western knowledge, and above all, hostile to the Muslims, appeared to be the most fit and worthy of their confidence.[1]

Nevertheless, the significance of the British rule for the Hindus did not lay merely in the fact that they got better chances of obtaining government patronage than their Muslim fellow countrymen. It was only one aspect of it. Its real significance was to be found elsewhere. It was a direct consequence of the British impact that a period of Hindu revivalism and renaissance was ushered in, which in a short span of time transformed the whole fabric of the Hindu society. The introduction of Western knowledge, press and literature, the development of the means of communication and a common vehicle of thought and expression, created among the Hindus a sense of political unity and national consciousness, and studies by European scholars of ancient Indian history and Sanskrit literature inspired them with a new pride in their past and hope for the revival of their heritage. Since the creation of a

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1 The following despateh of Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General of India, which he wrote to the Duke of Wellington as back as 18 June 1843, bears ample testimony to the fact that the British from the very beginning of their rule in the subcontinent, tried to champion the cause of the Hindus against the Muslims: "I cannot close my eyes 'wrote Lord Ellenborough," to the belief that that race (the Muslims) is fundamentally hostile to us, and our true policy is to reconcile the Hindus." Cited in *Meaning of Pakistan*, by Durrani, F. K., Lahore, 1944. p. 48.

sense of pride in the heritage of a people leads to the negation and renunciation of all other culturual influences, no wonder that almost all the Hindu revivalist movements were directed against Islām and its cultural influences. Thus for the first time the interests of the Hīndus and Muslims came into direct clash with each other. Hanceforth, each community began to think in terms of its own interests disregarding those of the other.

The subsequent struggle of the Hindus and Muslims of the subcontinent can thus, conveniently be called a struggle for the revival on the part of the one and survival on the other.

The first expression of the Hindu desīre to revive their religion manifested itself in the birth of the *Brahmo Samaj* in 1828, which sought to purge Hinduism of all *un-Vedic* influences such as,*Purdah*, chīld marriage, *Sutee* and Idol worship. Its founder Raja Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) was educated and brought up after the Muslim fashion. In his habits. appearance and private life he was nearer the Muslims. Above all it was his strong conviction that under the Muslim rule his co-religionists enjoyed ample opportunities to better their lot.[1]

Despite his liberal views and favourable inclination to Islamic culture, the Raja could do nothīng for His Muslim compatriots. Throughout his life he had the welfare of his own people in his mind, the cardinal aim of his life being the uplift of the latter and the reform of Hinduism. He himself regularly attended the weekly meetings of the *Sabha* where Brahmins used to recite the *Vedas* and no non-Brahmin was allowed to enter. Upto the last day of his life the Raja wore the sacred thread of the Brahmins and regarded himself nothing but a Hindu.[2]

Though the Brahmo Samaj never became popular among the masses, it had widespread influence among the middle clsss

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1 Sastri, Srinavasa, *History of the Brahmo Samāj*, Calcutta, 1911, Vol. I, pp 16-17, see also S. D. Collet's *Life and Letters of Raja Rammohan Roy*, Calcutta, p. 5.

2 Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

intelligentia. Raja's emphasis on pure *Vedantic* religion formed the watchword of the latter Hindu revivalist movement, which were militant in nature and aimed at putting an end to the cultural influences of Islām in India. The first victim of their onslaught was the Persian script of Urdu.

Centuries long association of the Hindus and Muslims had given birth to a common language i.e. *Urdu* which, with the passage of time, became the *lingua franca* of India. The Hindus and Muslims wrote and spoke *Urdu* with equal ease and fluency. Both were proud of it and regarded it a common cultural heritage. However, towards the second half of the nineteenth century the Hindus developed a distaste for it and "began to lay stress on purer Hindi and the Devanagari script. Probably, it was a reflex," writes Jawaharlal Nehru, of the rising national consciousness which first affected the Hindus. Nationalism, according to him, was for them inevitably at the beginning a form of Hindu nationalism.[1]" Accordingly they adopted a distinct and markedly indifferent attitude towards all those things which reminded them of the Muslim rule.[2] The Persian scripts of *Urdu* soon became the subject of an acrimonious controversy which caused an unbridgable rift between the two communities.

In 1867 some well placed Hindus of Benaras demanded the replacement of *Urdu* by *Hindi* written in the Devanagari script, in all the courts of the province. The demand came as a great shock to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who had been espousing the cause of Hindu Muslim unity with great enthusiasm. To him the question of language was elemental one. So he apprehended that if differences arose between the two communities on this particular issue, they would not come to an understanding on any other problem in future. With the success of the champions of Hindi in getting the use of *Urdu* banned in Bihar, Sir Syed lost all hopes

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1 Nehru, Jawaharlal. *The Question of Language*, Allahabad, 1937, p. 8.

2 French Orientalist Garci de Tassy's opinion quoted by Altaf Hussain Hali in his *Hayat-i-Jawaid*, Lahore, 1957, p. 197.

of the Hindu Muslim unity and predicted that with the passage of time the gulf between the two people would go on widening.[1]

After 1867 Sir Syed directed all his efforts to the welfare and educational uplift of his own community. He went to the extent of advising the Muslims to refrain from taking any part in politics. He himself stopped all discussions concerning politics in the *Aligrah Institute Gazette*, founded in 1866, the pages of which used to be full of such discussions before 1867.

Subsequent march of events in India showed that Sir Syed's apprehensions were quite genuine.

The task of the Hindu religious revival started by Raja Rammohan Roy in 1882, waş again taken up with greater zeal and enthusiasm by one Swami Dyananda Sarswati (1824-83) who in 1875 founded the *Arya Samaj.* Though the objects of Raja Rammohan Roy's *Brahmo Samaj* and the new movement were identical i.e. the Hindu Renaissance, the latter was altogether a different movement, so far as its nature and character of its founder were concerned. Rather "it was an antithesis of the liberal rational Brahmo Samaj."Raja Rammohan Roy's ideal was the rationalization and modernisation of Indian life by a harmonious blend of the Indian and Western cultures. Swami Dyananda regarded the influence of cultures other than that of Hinduism, inimical and detrimental to the progress of the latter. To him every thing foreign was bad. The watchword of his movement was "go back to the Vedas." He was of the opinion that the Vedas were the only revealed books and all other religious books were the works of human beings, since they were not revealed in Sanskrit! He also opined that the germs of all modren scientific inventions could be found in the Vedas.[2]

The Arya Samaj was intensely nationalistic, and aimed at complete extirpation of both Islām and Chirstianity from India.

1 French Orientalist Garci de Tassy's opinion quoted by Altaf Hussain Hali in his *Hayat-i-Jawaid*, Lahore, 1957, p. 194.

2 Dyananda, *Satyarath Prakash.* translated by Chivanjiva Bhardwaja. Lahore, 1906. p. 819.

Its founder regarded India a monopoly of the Hindus alone. To him Hindus and Indians were synonymous terms.

In order to put an end to the foreign influences on India, the Arya Samaj carried a wild propaganda against the followers of other religions. especially those of Islām. Swami Dayananda, attributed the appalling conditions prevailing in India to the evil deeds—Cow slaughter etc. of the *Mleechas*, a term equally applied to the Muslims and Christians. Accordingly, "Dayananda founded the Cow Protection Association in 1882, as an attack upon the Mohammedan sacrifice of cattle."[1] The Swami considered that "the influx of foreigners and followers of conflicting faiths, Christians, Muslims, Budhists. Sikhs, and the like has inflicted much misery upon the country. It is the imperative duty of wise persons to remove this misery."[2]

Dayananda was very outspoken, He levelled unpalatable criticism on the founders and the followers of all religions other than Hinduism. But he himself was not prepared to listen to anyone else and could brook no opposition. He declared that "anyone who did not respect the Vedas and other scriptures based upon them should be excommunicated by the responsible men for that slanders the Vedas was an atheist. Such persons should be driven away from tribe, society and country.[3]

The Swami preached monotheism but when the followers of other religions did the same, he laughed at their faces. He injured the religious susceptibilities of his opponents by using derogatory language for their deities. To him the Christian God was a "juggler," and the Quranic God "more devilish than the Devil."[4]

Such ideas and views as were held and propounded by the founder of the Arya Samaj could be productive of ill will, hatred

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1 Thompson and Garrett, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*. London, 1934. p. 545.

2 Dayananda, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

3 Durrani, F. K. Khan, *Swami Dyanānda*, Lahore, p. 279.

4 Dyananda, *op. cit.*. p. 819.

and communal strife only. No wonder the relations between the Hindus and Muslims became strained. But the fact that amazes one most is the exaltation of a communalist, like Dyananda, by the leaders[1] of the first political organization of the Hindus[2] which claimed to be the only and real representative body of the Indians as a whole.

The Indian National Congress was founded by some educated Hindus on 28 December 1885 at Bombay. In its foundation the British played an important role. A.O. Hume, a retired civil servant and Lord Dufferin, the Governor-General of India, were among the chief architects of the Congress. To the former goes the credit of conceiving the idea of the organization and to the latter for turning it into a political party. In the beginning the Congress, as conceived by Hume, was meant to be the forum of social reform. It was only under the directions of Lord Dufferin that it was turned into a political organization. Lord Dufferin did not wish to see his name associated with the scheme of the Congress. Accordingly, he warned Hume that under no circumstances his name be divulged to anybody. Hume promised and fulfilled the condition.[3]

However, Lord Dufferin was not the only man consulted on the issue. A number of other leading British statesmen and former Governors-General viz. Sir James Caird, John Bright, Lord Ripon and Lord Dalhousie were also consulted. It was with the connivance and blessings of the all that Hume started the Congress.[4]

The Congress was confessedly the culmination of Hindu revivalism[5] The Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and other Hindu

1 Sitaramayya the author of the *Indian National Congress*, is full of praise of the Arya Samaj since it "developed a virile manhood in the Nation, .p. 26.

2 Indian National Congress.

3 Sitaramyya, B. P. *op. cit.*, p. 23.

4 *Ibid.* p. 24.

5 Singh, G. N., Presidential Address to the All India Political Science

movement's in the words of G. N. Singh "were really so many threads in the strand of Indian Nationalism, and the Nation's duty was to evolve a synthesis so as to be able to dispel prejudice and superstition, to renovate and purify the old faith, the Vedantic idealism, and reconcile it with the Nationalism of the new age. The Indian National Congress was destined to fulfil this great mission,[1] Besides being largely dominated by the Hindus the aims and objects of the Congress were also not agreeable to the Muslims. In its very first session the Congress had demanded that the supreme and local Legislative Councils should be expanded and elective element be introduced in them.[2]

This demand of the Congress implied the introduction of representative institutions in India. The Muslims, who formed only one fourth of the population, apprehended that any such move, if met with success, would place them in a suboridnate position. Naturally they could not be expected to identify themselves with the ideals and objects of such an organization. Sir Syed, who wielded considerable influence over the educated Muslims and had become their spokesman, differed with the methods and aims of the Congress.[3] He was of the opinion that the Muslims, who had been adversely affected by the revolt of 1857, were far behind their Hindu compatriots. Their participation in the Congress agitation for democratic institutions would not be beneficial to them. He was of the view that the democratic institutions of the West could not be safely transplanted in India, which was inhabited by a heterogeneous people, professing different languages and practising different rites and customs Any such venture in his view, would result only in the permanent subjection of the minorities.[4]

Conference, 2 January, 1943, for reference see *The Indian Jaurnal of Political Science*, April-June, 1943.

1 Sitaramayya, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

3 *The Annual Register*. London, 1888, p. 350.

4 Hali, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-21.

To his critics Sir Syed posed a question, "suppose that all the English were to leave India then who would be the rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances the two communities would sit on the same throne and remain equal in power?" He himself replied, "Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceiveable."[1] Sir Syed feared that in case the representative form of Government was introduced in India, the Muslims who were numerically fewer, educationally backward and economically bankrupt would be the losers, Accordingly, he advised them to keep aloof from the activities of the Congress and to strive hard to acquire Western knowledge. To him the solution of all their problems lay in education.

He took some practical steps to channelise the energies of the Muslim youth to the attainment of Western education. Besides the Muhammedan Anglo Oriental College, which he founded in 1877 at Aligarh, he set up the Mohammedan Educational Conference in 1886 to keep the attention of the Muslims mainly focussed on their educational problems. In 1888, he founded the Patriotic Association at Aligarh.[2] The association was meant to mirror the views of all those persons who were not in accord with the Congress aims. Their dissenting views were then published in pamphlets and sent to the members of British Parliament to impress upon them the fact that the Muslims had nothing to do with the Congress.

In its initial stages the Congress was a loyal and peaceful organization. Its aims and objectives were to be realised through peaceful and constitutional means. Loyalty to the British Government being its watchword, it was patronised by the latter. British officials attended the Congress meetings and the provincial

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1 *Collection of Sir Syed's Lectures,* Ambala, 1892, p. 258.

2 Sir Syed to Graham, December 1888, for reference see *Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan,* by Graham, G. F., p. 273.

governors arranged official receptions and garden parties for its members. Occasionally, the Congress leaders expressed their gratitude and felt no hesitation in acknowledging the benifits that India had derived under the British Raj. The President of the second session of the Congress maintained that freedom of expression and thought as enjoyed by the Indians under the British could not have been dreamt of even in the most glorious days of Hindu rule or under Akbar. The Chairman of the Reception Committee of the ninth Session referred to the Congress "as the greatest glory of British Rule in this country."[1]

However, after sometime there arose differences between the Congress leaders regarding the methods to be adopted to realise its objectives. Those who believed in constitutional means were termed as the Moderates[2] and the other group that advocated violence and terrorism to bring the Government to its knees, was known as the Extremists. The latter had a greater appeal to the masses since they promised sudden overthrow of the Government. This group was also equally inimical to the Muslims, whom they called *Mleechas* and foreigners.

The birth of extremism and the transformation to militant nationalism owes its origin to Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) who is referred to by Sir V. Chirol as the "Father of Indian Unrest."[3] He was a scholar of *Sanskrit* and *Marathi* and was equally well-versed in Western education. In 1880, he started two newspapers *the Maratha* and *the Kesari* and instantly embarked upon a campaign of militant nationalism. He despised Western culture and regarded all indigenous things sacred. He denounced Brahmo Samaj for its leanings towards the West. He wanted to resurrect and revive that spirit of prowess and gallantry that was once the characteristic of the valiant Rajputs and which had found a physical expression in the Maratha Chief—Shivaji.

1 Sitaramyya, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

2 Eminent among them were G. K. Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjea, Phirozshah Mehta and Dadabhai Noroji.

3 Chirol, *Indian Unrest*. London, n. d., p. 44.

In 1893 Tilak organised the Ganapati Festival. Soon after Gymnastic and Ganapati societies were founded in all the principal towns of Deccan. Thousands of Hindus participated in these societies. The purpose of the Ganapati Festival and societies was to prevent the Hindu youth from participating in the *Muharram* celebrations, and "for this Tilak could not have found a more popular figure in Hindu Mythology than the Ganesh.[1]

"These festivals gave occasion for theatrical performances and religious songs in which the legends of Hind Mythology were skillfully exploited to stir up hatred of the foreigner, applied eqally to Europeans and to Mohammedans as well as for tumultous processions only too well calculated to provoke affrays with the Mohammedans."[2]

Tilak's nationalism was exclusively Hindu, and in this connection he founded a Cow-Protection Society. Like the Ganesh Festival, this society was also directed against the Muslims and was responsible for a lot of communal strife and bloodshed. On 11 August 1893 most serious communal riots took place in Bombay, as a result of which many died and hundreds were arrested. The investigations that followed the riots, led the Governor of Bombay to infer that "the agitation here springs originally from the annoyance caused by the excessive and inconsiderate preaching of the apostles of the Cow Preservation Societies......and undoubtedly the Mohammedans have been annoyed."[3]

Encouraged by the "success" of the Ganapati Festival and the Cow Protection Society, Tilak sponsored another militant Festival in commemoration of the birth of Shivaji in 1896. "The Ganapati festivals had imparted to Hinduism a congregational

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1 Jag, N. G., *Lokamanya Balgangadhar Tilak*, Delhi, 1962, p. 47.

2 Chirol V., *op. cit.*, p. 44.

3 Lord Harris to Secretary of State Lord, Kimberley, 31 August 1893. Kimberley papers, Pc/E/16 National Registry of Archives, Public Record Office, London.

character indispensable to its new political role. The Shivaji festivals went a step further by defying the father of the Maratha nation, and thereby sanctifying its political history, thus providing Indian nationalism with a precept from its own past."[1]

On the occasion of the next Shivaji festival Tilak and his disciples justified the use of force and even murders, in defence of national ideals. Shivaji's murder of Aurangzeb's General Afzal Khan was cited as an example. Tilak's justification of Shivaji's treachery was thus published in the *Kesari*. "Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan?" The answer to this question can be found in the *Mahabharata* itself. Shrimat Krishna preached in the Gita that we have a right even to kill our own *Guru* and our kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap the fruit of his deeds. If thieves enter our house and we have not strength enough in our fists to drive them out, we should without hesitation lock them up and burn them alive. God had not conferred upon the foreigners the grant inscribed on a copper plate to the kingdom of Hindustan. Do not circumscribe your vision like a frog in a well; get out of the Penal Code, enter into the lofty atmosphere of the *Shrimat Bhagvat Gita* and then consider the actions of great men."[2]

Such inflammatory speeches and writings against the "foreigners" were bound to create hatred for and rouse feelings against the latter. Accordingly, on the night of 22 June, 1897 two British officials Walter Charles Rand, chairman of the Plague Committee and Lieutenant C.E. Ayerst were shot dead while they were returning from a reception party, by two Brahmans. Damodar, one of the murderers confessed that he was actuated by Tilak's articles.[3] Accordingly, Tilak was arrested and sentenced for 18 months rigorous imprisonment for spreading seditious propaganda.[4]

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1 Wolpert, S. A., *Tilak and Gokhale*, London, 1962, p. 80.

2 *The Kesari*, Poona, 15 June, 1897.

3 Chirol, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

4 *The Paisā Akhbar*, Lahore, 25 September 1897, p. 7.

That the moderate leaders of the Congress were also in sympathy with Tilak's extremist movement is evident from their heartfelt feelings expressed on the former's conviction. "Poor Mr. Tilak!" wrote Gokhale from London, "His conviction is a great national calamity......The clouds overhead appear at present to be the thickest."[1] Sir Sankaran Nair. president of the Amroati session of the Congress and Surendranath Benerjea also expressed similar views. The latter said, "For Mr. Tilak my heart is full of sympathy. My feelings go forth to him in his prison house. A nation is in tears."[2]

Extremism was in full swing in Bengal also where Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, and B.C. Chatterji, political disciples of Tilak were active. The tone of the *Yugantar* was identical to that of the *Kesari*. The cult of Godess *Kali* in Bengal served the same purpose as Shivaji's cult and Ganapati festivals had done in Maharashtara. Feelings against the Muslims were tense. The letter of a Muslim youth which he wrote to Chirol depicts the intensity of feelings against the Muslims prevalent in the country at that time. "Not only Tilak and his school in Poona, but throughout the Panjab and Bengal the constant talk of the Nationalists is that the Muslims must be driven out of India as they were driven out of Spain."[3]

While the Hindus were thus contemplating the extinction of the Muslims and their culture from India, the Government of India were seriously deliberating over an outstanding administrative problem, the solution of which was to give an unprecedented vent to the feelings of estrangement and was to prove a turning point in the history of the Hindu-Muslim relationship.

Of all the provinces of British India, Bengal was the largest and constituted the greatest administrative unit. In 1903 the province covered a huge area of 189,000 square miles with a

1 Gokhale to Joshi, 15 September 1897, G. C. 16, Gokhale to Joshi.

2 Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

3 Chirol, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

population of 78 million. Owing to the enormity of its size it became too unwieldy and the administration was overburdoned. In particular the Eastern part of it was in a state of neglect for a long time and was undoubtedly the most backward province of British India. However, the Government was not unmindful of the tremendous task that the Lt. Governor of Bengal was called upon to tackle. In order to lessen his burdens Assam had been separated and constituted in 1874 in a new province. Some reduction in the size of Bengal had been suggested even in 1866 by Sir Stafford Northcote the then Secretary of State of India, in view of the failure of the Government to control the Orissa famine effectively.[1] But despite the arrangements made in 1874 the province remained too difficult a charge for a single man and needed further reduction.[2]

The scheme for the partition of Bengal was given final shape under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon sanctioned by the Secratary of State for India on 9 June 1905.

The proclamation creating the new province under the name of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and declaring it to consist of Assam and Bengal districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Noakhali, Chittagong, the Chitagong hill tracts, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna, and Malda was published in the *Gazette of India* of 1 September. On the same day Bampflyde Fuller was appointed Lt. Governor of Eastern Bengal with a council of fifteen members, and the administration came into full official existence on 16 October, 1905 amids much local popular rejoicings.[3]

With the partition of Bengal, Hindu resentment reached unprecedented heights. They had already resented the Universities Act of 1904, which had "convulsed educated India from one end of

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1 Fraser, Lovat, *India under Curzon and After*, London, 1911. pp. 369-70.

2 Ronaldshay, Earl of, *The Life of Lord Curzon*, Vol II, London, 1928 p. 321.

3 *The Annual Register, op. cit.*, pp. 383-88.

he country to another"[1] Since then they had been in search of a pretext to agitate, and the partition provided them with one. But the thing they could not withstand and resented most was the fact that the Muslims were in a majority in the new province. Boycott of British goods and political terrorism were the two weapons used by the agitators to get the partition annuled. A wave of consternation prevailed over Calcutta where great protest meetings were held and monster demonstrations organised.

The Indian National Congress offered the strongest opposition to the government measure. A resolution demanding the annulment of the partition was passed in its 1906 session and the *Swadeshi* movement launched in the previous year was blessed by its leaders.[2] The Hindu leaders tried hard to involve the Muslims in their agitation against the partition but all their efforts failed. The Muslims were fully alive to the fact that the purpose of the agaitation was to deprive them of the opportunities the partition had provided to them. Consequently friction between the two communities arose and a number of clashes occurred in Eastern Bengal. When Bampflyde Fuller tried to suppress the agitation, the Hindus turned against him as well. In the meanwhile some differences between Fuller and the Government of India with regard to the suppression of the agitation arose, which led to Fuller's resignation.

Fuller's resignation was regarded as a great triumph by the agitators, but it caused great consternation among the Muslims of Eastern Bengal who had come to regard Fuller a champion of their cause.

In a public meeting held under the presidentship of Nawab Salimullah of Dacca, on 6 August, the Muslims of Dacca expressed their deep regrets on Fuller's resignation and its prompt acceptance by the Government of India. They regarded the action of the

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1 Benerjea, S. N., *A Nation in Making*, London, 1925, p. 175.

2 Ramana Rao, M. V., *A Short History of Indian National Congress*, Delhi. 1959. p. 54.

Government as a "Great injustice" to the Muslims who had nothing to do with the agitation. In a resolution passed on the occasion they showed their disapproval for the inconsistent policies of the Government.[1] Besides Dacca, protest meetings were also held all over India. Telegrams expressing Muslim regret and disapproval of the Government action were sent to the Vicerory. "Fuller's resignation played the same role" writes Dr. S. R. Wasti, "in the growth of Muslim political consciousness as the partition and the Swadeshi movement had done in popularising the Congress." It further impressed upon their minds the importance and need of a political organisation of their own for the safeguard of their interests and to lay before the Government the claims of a neglected but intensely loyal and peaceful eommunity like that of the Muslims.

Soon they found an opportunity. In 1906, John Morely, the Secretary of State for India, in his budget speech alluded to the possibility of reforming and expanding the Viceroy's Legislative Council. The Muslims, who could not find adequate representation under the Act of 1892, and had a bitter taste of Hindu hostility, became perturbed by the announcement. They feared that the gradual introduction of the elective system of government would result in their permanent subjection to the Hindus. In order to get their interest safeguarded under the proposed reforms, they decided to wait on the Viceroy and demand that in future they should be allowed to return their own representatives. The demand which was made on 1 October 1906 was conceded under the Indian Council's Act of 1909.

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1 Eastern Bengal and Assam Era, 11 August 1906, p. 4.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY OF IQBAL: A STUDY IN MELIORISM

by

KAMAL MUHAMMAD HABIB, KARACHI

This essay does not purport to be a detailed study of the metaphysical aspect of Iqbal's philosophy or of the many factors that have moulded his writings. Rather, it is meant to be a brief study of some of the aspects of Iqbal's adoption of an esoteric system—for the most part, symbolical—which he formulated in order to cope with the changed situation which faced the Muslims of his time. I have called Iqbal's attitude melioristic, because meliorism prescribes certain treatments and directions, whereas optimism assumes everything to be well set, and is therefore essentially unrealistic.

Perhaps, one of the principal characteristics of the twentieth century intellectual predicament in the West has been the almost distinct crystallization of two broad types of thinkers: the iconoclasts and the apologists. The iconoclast or sceptic believes that the new age demands equally new and nascent symbols, myths, and images. The apologist believes that the demands of the age notwithstanding, some sort of *rapprochement* between the two polar schools should be possible, and that there should be an uninterrupted dialogue in which each side should present its pros and cons. The apologist school would thus be in favour of embedding the old tradition into the new. Karl Heim, one of the profoundest Christian thinkers of the century, avers in this context:

"The Church's future today depends more than ever on whether she withdraws into the ghetto and leaves the world to its fate, or whether she has the authority to continue the dis-

cussion with the world outside and to answer the questions which it puts to her. We cannot today... simply presuppose the existence of God as axiomatic and reject from the outset the greatest question of all, the question whether the overwhelming majority of our contemporaries are right in regarding God as merely 'an attitude' and not as a foundation, as merely a 'doubtful possibility' which may perhaps still just keep our head above water."[1]

Others like Niebuhr, Tillich, and Barth have adopted more or less the same attitude, although Niebuhr betrays at times an existentialistic view. Among the modern Western poets, T. S. Eliot is closer to Iqbal, as religion for him was a surd of feeling, irreducible to any logic but he, too, yielded to the demands of the age by blending Greco-Roman-Judaeao-Christian symbolism with symbols particular to the twentieth century. The bridge, however, is not easy to cross from one attitude to the other. The virtual claim of one of the main iconoclastic schools, the existentialistic, down from Fichte to Sartre, is that nothing outside man matters. E. M. Cioran, the noted French essayist and writer, echoes, rather logically, the excesses into which the existentialistic school is likely to lead, and by so doing tripping up the modern Western civilization. Cioran holds that man, by his very nature, is prone to evil, and good is, at best, something pallid, something that is incapable of creating or of generating a creative act.[2] Such an approach is almost equivalent to a surrender, and, in accepting that the presence of evi! in the world cannot be explained on any rational basis, represents a millenial return to the Marcion heresy which removes the world of flesh to the realm of evil. Such an attitude would hardly be conducive to a dialogue. Cioran further states :

"Man is a perverse animal ; he loves only what he destroys... Someone will say, 'Overcome fear, so that only wisdom survives". But in order to overcome it, to dispel it, one would have to attack its very principle and raze its foundations, rebuild more or less

1 *Christian Faith aud Natural Science*, p. 29.

2 *The Evil Demiurge, THE HUDSON REVIEW*, 2, pp. 189-90.

the entire world, nimbly change demiurges, in short, one would have to cofine oneself to some other creator".[1]

Not only this, but for Cioran the word "religious wisdom" does not at all exist. Religion, according to him, is "militant, aggressive, unscrupulous. Wisdom, on the other hand, he holds to be a process of self-plunder, requiring that we jettison on our irreplaceable stock of good and evil".[2]

Views like those of Sartre and Cioran are compounded both of arrogance and fatalism: of arrogance, beeause their school believes that man has scaled such summitry of technological and intellectual achievement that he can be regarded as a norm, and of fatalism because of the failure of man to realize his dreams in plenitude. Now fatalism might be defined as the net difference between the expectation with which man start or views the world and his failure to realize his dreams or his realization of the imperfect nature of the view. Thus seen, optimism and arrogance are not very different, since optimism is a state of euphoria and presupposes that everything will turn out all right instead of realizing that our actions are also subject to the will of God and forgetting our weaknesses. Iqbal, therefore, besides being a meliorist, appears at times to discharge the role of geratologist. His meliorism is not the hotch-potch of Stoicism and resignation. Instead, he adopts two norms, one a metaphysical, the other an historical. On the metaphysical level he is an intuitionist than or empilicist; that is to say, he accepts God of the Qur'ān unreservedly and develops his system from that axiomatic assumption. He thus represents the orthodox lineage. While an uncompromising *shuhudi* (that is, believer in the unity of experience), the early Iqbal, nonetheless, draws on the *wujudi* normonist symbols, such as the bubble-ocean and particle-universe symbolism. While the monist symbols occur in his early Urdu and Persian works, the latter-day Iqbal with his poems like the ideologues,

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1 *Ibid.*, pp. 190-200.

2 *The Snares of Wisdom*, THE HUDSON REVIEW, 4, p. 547.

Shu'a-i-Umid (The ray of hope) and *Tasvir-o-Mussavir* (The portrait and the painter), is definitely inclined towards the *shuhudi* symbolism. It is, perhaps, true that on the symbolic level his concept of the individual and universal egos and the Whole Ego has monistic connotations, and yet his central purpose is to show that the human personality is directional and that its aim should be towards that All-Inclusive Ego which is the Ultimate Reality or God.

So that, which creating a symbolism of intimacy, Iqbāl also postulates that, while the distance between God and man is infinite, man comprising finite and God infinite dimensions, purpose itself would confer on man the sublimity of purpose, purity in thought and deed, and, logically enough development. Several influences have interacted in the case of Iqbāl. One of the most evident is that of Shaikh Ahmad ibn-i-Abdul Ahad Sarhindi (The Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani) on the philosophical plane.

The historical absolute which he adopts is nothing new. This absolute has been the ideal of all orthodox Muslim from Imam Ghazali down to Shah Waliullah and Maulana Shibli. Jamaluddin Afghani, for instance, represented the orthodox Muslim approach (that of the *dār-ul-ḥaram*) on the political plane. But Iqbāl has created great poetry from that absolute and his genuine contribution to Muslim philosophy lies in his attempt to trace the factors that led to the establishment of Islam as the most creative movement ever in mankind's history during the period that interceded between the Revelation of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) and the appearance of the Umayyad dynasty. During this period the implementation of the Quranic concept of the fusion of the State with *dar-ul-Islam* was complete, and so was the synthesis of thought and act. Iqbāl, therefore, refused to seek his answers in the confusions of the present. He rightly believed that the concept of God cannot be seized by man on the basis of ratiocination alone. For one thing, man is limited in his understanding of time (which is sequential) and space (which he can only vaguely seize) and conceptualizing faculty (which is based on his cognitive understanding of the world). God is,

on the other hand, a transcendental Being, not circumscribed by dimensions or time sequence or by those of space. The utmost that we can do is to evoke Him through symbols. The *ur'ān* mentions Ninety-nine Attributes of God, the highest in any religion. Kant's arguments both for and against God in the *Critique of Pure Reason* amply demonstrate the failure of logic to cope with metaphenomena. Barring this proviso, Iqbāl is for experimentation and for a thorough investigation of the phenomenal world. This, again, would make us retrace our steps to the times of Rumi, Ibn-ī-Khaldun, Ibn-ī-Rushd, Jabir Ibn-ī-Hayan, Al-Razi, and Bū Ali Sina. These experimenters, for the first time in the history of man, reduced the phenomenon of repetition in nature to general laws. In so doing they joined the age of antiquity with the modern.

The Greek approach was mainly teleological and ontological with the sole exceptions of Aristotle and Theophrastus; the early Muslim approach was statistical, scientific, and epistemological.[1] Iqbāl was thus a sworn enemy of obscurantism and traditionalism, particularly when we have merely imitated the traditions of the old masters of science and have thus enshrined them into norms, have left it to the West to develop them, and have not enlarged on them. One of the central themes of Iqbāl's *Lectures* is to show that the Islamic history ceased to be the community of believers ever since the conversion of the Caliphate into an inherited institution, violating one of the basic requirements of the, *fiqh*, the *ijma*. This is why Iqbāl is the advocate of religious reconstruction which should be so effected as be historically continous and represent the best in the tradition of Islam. He is one with Rumi's contention :

هر بنائے کہنہ آبادان کنند　　اول آن بنیاد را ویران کنند

"Before the new foundation of the community is laid, first of all the old foundation must be removed".

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1 *Lectures*, pp. 132-133.

For Iqbāl the crowning "act is not an intellectual act, but a vital act which deepens the whole being of the ego, and sharpens his will with the creative assurance that the world is not something to be merely seen or known through concepts, but something to be made and re-made by continuous action"[1].

II

One of the most important aspects of Iqbāl's religious philosophy is his unequivocal acceptance of the fusion of the State and *dar-ul-Islām.* It is rather interesting to note that the development of this concept gains ascendency after the first part of the *Bang-i-Dara,* and in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* and *Bal-i-Jibrīl* gains tacit acceptance. It is, however, plausible to assume that, in fact, this was due to his view of the history of the Muslims in Spain and Sicily and, in part, due to what he believed to be the astigmatic nature of the irridentist and nationalistic tendencies in the Arab countries, Iran and Turkey. He rightly believed that for the maintenance of historic continuity, Islam and nationalism are irreconcilable. In Europe and the West in general, it is not the theology of Christianity but the sermons of Christ that have provided the spiritual succour. The New Testament itself does not provide any *shariah.* Had it done so, the Acts, Corinthians, Thessalonians, and other scriptures besides the four gospels would not have been necessary. Indeed, the concept of Resurrection and after-life owes its origin in Christianity to St. Paul. Europe has found ample excuse in the separation of the Church from the state in Christ's statement in Mark 12 : 17 :

"Render to Caeser the things that are Caeser's, and to God the things that are God's".

In the Acts (25:8) we further read :

"While he answered for himself, neither against the law of the Jews, neither against the temple, nor yet against Caesar, have I offended any thing at all."

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1 *Lectures*, p. 198.

The separation of the State and the Church might in its present form be a part Renaissance phenomenon but in one form or other secularism was latent in the Roman administrative system. In Islam, on the other hand, the theocratic system might have been distorted but the acceptance of secularism was for the first time, enforced in Turkey in October 1925, when the State was declared to be secular. Iqbal offers his explanation of the relationship of the State and Islām thus :

"The State, from the Islamic standpoint, is an endeavour to transform these ideal principles into space-time forces, an aspiration to realize them in a definite human organization. It is in this sense alone that the state in Islam is a theocracy, not in the sense that it is headed by a representative of God on earth who can always screen his despotic will behind his supposed infallibility."[1]

But, apart from this, nationalism goes against the Islamic concept of history. Spain is an apt indicator of where fragmentation and self-interest can lead. The banishment of the Arabs from Spain postdated the conquest of Istanbul by Turkey by only a few years, and the power of Islam was by no means on the wane then.

The exile of the Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula also resulted in the naval battle of Lepanto, with Spain and Venice emerging as very strong naval powers. The fate of the Muslims in Spain convinced Iqbāl that, if Islām is to emerge as a power, Pan-Islamism should be accepted as an *a priori* concept, if not on a political, at least on a spiritual basis. Both Khiḍr and the Mosque of Cordova symbolize for Iqbāl the time-continuum, Khiḍr as the observer and the mosque as the power of faith in relation to time. In the *Masjid-i-Qartaba* Iqbal says :

تجھکو پر کھتا ہے یہ مجھکو پر کھتا ہے یہ سلسلۂ روز و شب صیرفئ کائنات
کونسی وادی میں ہے کونسی منزل میں ہے عشق بلا خیز کا کاروان سخت جاں

1 *Lectures*, pp. 154-55.

"This chain of day and night is the appraiser (appointed by) the cosmic order to test thy substance and mine.

"...In what valley, in what stage of its journey, is this hardy caravan impelled forward by the overpowering force of love ?"

Measured in terms of pathos, Iqbāl's *Andalusi* poems have far more of it than his other historical poems. And so, together with his historical perspective, Iqbāl also irresistibly developed interest in time, not as the measure of the birth, growth, and decline of a culture but as a measure in which it was inextricably related with egohood as a Life—or Personality—Force. In this he was more like George Bernard Shaw of *Back to Methuselah*, since for both—directly for Shaw and as a corollary for Iqbāl—the development visualized would be intellectual. The fundamental difference between the two, however, is that, while Shaw attacks the social values, Iqbāl is primarily concerned with the religious aspect of man's social structure. Naturally, Iqbāl believed that the formation of a full-fledged Pan-Islamic unit, either, loosely knit or compact (this he rightly does not specify) would do away with petty jealousies, and would fill in the spiritual vacuum with the right stuff. Nationalism he rightly regarded as something arid, something that, if not suppressed in time, would be like a parasitic ivy that would derive the very plant that harbours it of the nutrition necessary for its survival. According to the hierophants of the Turkish, Arab, and Iranian nationalism these civilizations have very ancient histories, and religion in such a concept therefore becomes something secondary, at best an incident at a point in time, like a montage in a long panoramic cinema. And so we have Pur-i-Dawud bewailing in 1911 :

شد از ستم دونان ملک جم و کے ویران   پیغوله جنداں بیں ایران فلکسارا
شد شیر کیاں پنہاں جولان شگال آمد   خواری ز عقب آمد کر و فر دارارا

گر پور دود روزی از مہر وطن بردار
صد شکر و سپاس آرد مرا ایزد یکتارا

"The tyranny of evil men has laid the kingdom of Jamshed and Kai desolate. Behold Iran, that once vied with the heaven, become the abode of owls.

"The lion of the Kiyanians is hidden ; the jackal is on the prowl everywhere. Humiliation has succeeded the dignity and grandeur of Darius.

"If, for the sake of his beloved land, Pur-i-Dawud should mount the scaffold, still will be under hundred thanks and praises to God".

And so for Pur-i-Dawud Islam has become, through its identification with Arabia, the symbol of oppression. This he amply demonstrate too :

یکی گیتی' یکی یزداں پرستد   یکی پیدا' یکی پنہاں پرستد
فقیہہ آزمند حرص و شہوت   گہی حور و گہی غلمانْ پرستد
چہ نیرنگ است یاراں مفتیٌ شرع   مرید ابلہ و نادانْ پرستد
اگر پرسی ز کیش پور داؤد
جواں پارسی ایرانْ پرستد

"Let some worship one world, some one God, some the apparent and others the hidden.

"Let the expositor of the *fiqh*, overcome by cupidity and lust, worship *huris* and *ghulams*.

"How intriguing, friends, is the expounder of the *shariah !* Let his foolhardy and ignorant acolytes worship him.

"If one asks the creed of Pur-i-Dawud, he would say, let the Parsi youth worship Iran".

Such an attitude refuses to accept the desirability of the interaction of different cultures and is therefore outright isolationist. It was exactly this interaction was that has made Persian one of the greatest of the world languages. Pur-i-Dawud's month's mind expectation of the revival of the Medean, Achaemenid and Sassanid past is a sort of expectation that could have little fulfilment in reality, and, besides going against the grain of historical continuity, would rob Persian of almost all of its richness, substituting aridity instead.

Now, Iqbāl visualized Islām to be a historical necessity ; all that was to be done was to revitalize our practice of it spiritually. The Qur'ān explicitly states : "And verily unto thy Lord is the limit" (53 : 14), so that constructive spiritualism, which should be

both individualistic and collectivistic, would alone lead to an achievement that would be satisfying. Iqbāl can thus be reckoned a remarkable writer on several counts. Like his great Iranian contemporary, Malak-us-Shaura Bahar Mashedi, he was a constitutionalist, but he was, furthermore, a believer in religious and material discipline. He could well seize many of the factors responsible for the decline of Islām, but he did not attribute decline to "the cruelty of destiny". His only yardstick is that of *ijtihād.* He was also an anachronism in the sense that he rejected the continuity of tradition in both Persian and Urdu. Although he has drawn on Hali and Shibli, he has gone further and crystallized his thesis through his development of the concept of *khudi* (egohood) in both his Urdu and Persian poetric works. Although he has borrowed from the latter-day Persian poets, notably Saib and 'Urfi, the fountainhead of his inspiration, nevertheless, transcended the later mediaeval period and lay in the poetry of Rumi, Attar, and Sanai. Of the latter-day medieval-age poets it was only Jami who has wrought substantial influence on Iqbal's poetry. He pointedly excludes Hafiz and 'Omar Khayyam from his notebook of sources, as they both represent for him the recurring cycles of fatalism and optimism : this is, however, one of the basic issues which one must briefly discuss here. Islām, with the most complete *shari'ah* of the major Semitic religions, is also correspondingly more self-affirming. The message of the Qur'ān is that the world is the gift of God to man, and salvation lies not in escaping from, but in facing upto, responsibilities. The Aryan religions and those of the Far Eastern regions (Buddhism Jainism, Manichaenism and Hinduism) are, by and large, quietist, ascetic, and renunciatory. The Semitic religions are proselytizing, ethical, and self-affirming. Now, there is no doubt that with Hafiz tranquillity lies in seclusion and contemplation—and hence possibly also in something amounting to withdhawal from the world, if not in outright renunciation :

از قال و قیل مدرسه حال دلم گرفت
یک چند نیز خدمت معشوق ومے کنم

"Tired with the catechism of how and why and whence and whither, let me devote the fleeting time to my beloved and the liquid ruby."

For Iqbāl—that is, the Iqbal of the *Bāl-ī-Jibrīl* and *Ḍarb-ī-Kalīm* days—nothing should exist with purpose, least of all arts :

یہ زور دست و ضربت کاری کا ہے مقام
میدان جنگ میں نہ طلب کر نوائے چنگ

"This is the occasion for hard work and *jihad*. In the battle field we sing different songs ; do not demand soft music here."

Also Iqbāl's latter-day concept of Nature was *natura natarata*, and thus Nature and external world become for him the projections of the human mind, which, in another direction, developing the prowess of intellectual promptings, seeks to reach closer and closer to the Ultimate Reality through egohood which has been sharpened and moulded through contact with the external world. The external world would supply the cognitive experience which the intellect through intuition would transform into the abstract.

Whether Iqbāl was justified in adopting such a posture with regard to Hafiz is a different question. The fact, however, remains that Iqbal's meliorism had spiritual affinity with the early-day classical Persian poets, as in their poetry life becomes purposive through ruthless quest for the eternal verities. Whereas Rumi says :

اے شہاں کشتیم ما حضم بروں ماند خضمے زاں تبر در اندروں
کشتن ایں کار عقل و ہوش نیست شیر باطن سخرۂ خرگوش نیست

"Friends, we have killed and destroyed our enemy and yet a greater adversary remains hidden in the innermost recesses of ourself.

"Wisdom and knowledge alone cannot dislodge this preserving adversary.

"How can this tiger harbouring in the innermost depths of our being be overcome by a mere hare ? ",

Iqbāl also comes out with a broadly similar idea :

عقل گو آستاں سے دور نہیں اسکی تقدیر میں حضور نہیں
دل بینا بھی کر خدا سے طلب آنکھه کا نور دل کا نور نہیں
علم میں بھی سرور ہے لیکن یه وه حقیقت ہے جسمیں نور نہیں

"Wisdom may not be far off from the goal, but its fate does not augur its attainment.

"Beseech thine Creator that he might vouchsafe to thee a seeing heart, since the brightness of the eye does not illmine the heart.

"Knowledge has a pleasure of its own but it is devoid of all the celestial attributes and purity."

III

The subject of time has been, in one form or the other, the object of man's reflection since the time immemorial. It has several facets to it: that of a mysterious, abstract entity with which the human mind has been grappling for reduction to something that could be, at least, conceptualized; as the great leveller (in sura 7:32 of the Qur'ān it is explicitly stated, "Every nation hath a fixed period"); as something intense and personal, converging on to a point in the mind of the poet and the dramatist. The historiographer puts his all in the attempt to discover whether history really does unfold a pattern. Some historigraphers would find history to be repetitive or cyclic; others would discern in it a biological pattern, whether interpreted on an organic or challenge-response basis; others would see it as the movement onward of spiritual ideas; and yet some like A. N. Whitehead would see it as the process of an "extensive continuum".

Now Iqbal, the affirmationist Muslim, could not just believe that man is like a mere flotsam in the sea of time, tossing to and fro without any directional movement. With his historical perspective which he seized intuitionally he, was faced with considerable difficulty, for time is not at all an easy subject to poetize

upon. In one of the most penetrating analysis of the problem of time Iqbal says:

"Pure time, then, as revealed by a deeper analysis of our conscious experience, is not a string of separate, reversible instants; it is an organic whole in which the past is not left behind, but is moving along with, and operating in, the present. And the future is given to it not as lying before, yet to be traversed . . . it is time regarded as an organic whole that the Qur'ān describes as 'Taqdir' or the destiny . . . Destiny is time regarded as prior to the disclosure of its possibilities . . . It is time freed from the net of causal sequence—the diagrammatic character which the logical understanding imposes on it. In one word, it is time as felt and not as thought and calculated . . . Time regarded as destiny forms the very essence of thing. As the Qur'ān says: "God created all things and assigned to each its destiny". The destiny of a thing, then, is not an unrelenting fate working from without like a task master; it is the inward reach of a thing, its realizable possibilities which lie within the depths of its nature, and serially actualize themselves without any feeling of external compulsion . . . "[1]

Since Iqbal believes that "all creative activity is free activity" and that "Creation is opposed to repetition which is a characteristic of mechanical action", he also believes that time can be moulded so as to be both creative and destructive. It will remain a leveller if we are impassive and a builder if we are creative. Creative activity alone frees man from the trammels of time. Shakespeare claimed that the miracle wrought by him in black ink would alone ward off time, that is, through his own creative poetry. Goethe's view of time is somewhat similar to that of Iqbāl's. Christopher Dawson rightly claims that the German view of life, and therefore of time, is musical than mathematical, spiritual than utilitarian.[2] But, whereas Goethe heralds the concept of the free will of man,

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1 *Lectures*, pp. 49-50.

2 *Progress and Religion*, pp. 30-31.

his Hellenism weans him away from it and draws him into the mesh of pessimism. An example is his threnody on Euphorion, the son of Faust and Helen, in *Faust* (Part II). Like Goethe Iqbāl also postulates the abolition between spirit and matter. But, unlike Goethe, Iqbal postulates a disciplined course of egohood. Goethe's course was something of an admixture of the Teutonic or Faustian and Hellenic civilizations. Whereas in Iqbāl Goethe's ideas find echoes now and then, it must be understood that Iqbāl was employing analogous ideas with his eyes on a different goal. In *Faust* the Spirit of the Earth is made to say :

"Birth and death,
A changing web,
A glowing life,
Thus do I work
At the humming loom of time,
And fashion the living garment of God".

Time, in such a concept, does remain a passive concept. For Iqbāl, on the other hand, it will be what we make it to be : cruel and hard if refuse to race with it and fruitful, if we accept its challenge. His views on time, in many places, are suffused with Goethe-like ideas, but we must remember that Iqbāl is elaboratoring on the ideas of the greatest poet of Europe since Shakespeare in his own individual fashion. The passage just quoted from the *Lectures* has been poetized by Iqbal is one of his most remarkable and touching poems, the *Nawa-i-Waqt* (The voice of time) :

چنگیزی و تیموری، مشت زغبار من   هنگامهٔ افرنگی، یک جسته شرار من
انسان و جهان او، از نقش و نگار من   خون جگر مردان سامان بهار من
من آتش سوزانم، من روضهٔ رضوانم
آسوده و سیارم، این طرفه تماشا بین   درباده، امروزم کیفیت فردا بین
پنهاں به ضمیر من، صد عالم رعنا بین   صد کوکب غلطان بین، صد گنبد خضرا بین
من کسوت انسانم، پیراهن یزدانم

"Chingiz, Timur, specks of my dust they came,
And Europe's turmoil is a spark of my flame,

Man and his world I fashion and frame,
Blood of his heart my springflowers claim.
Hell, fire, Paradise, I, be it told.

I rest still, I move—wonderous sight for thine eyes,
In the glass of Today see Tomorrow arise,
See a thousand fair worlds where my thought deep lies,
See a thousand swift stars, a thousand blue skies:
Man's garment am I, God I behold." (Translation by Reynold A. Nicholson).

"Hell, fire, and Paradise"—these are the aspects of time in its manifold appearance in accordance with how we react to it. Creative action alone takes us to Paradise. A corollary that follows from this concept is that the contact with Infinite Being through time which is *pairahan-i-Yazdan* (the raiment of God) is possible through intuition alone. This is possible, in turn, only through a creative act. The Muslim is inheritor to the greatest Revealatory Experience of all times, embodied in the Qur'ān and therefore by developing the consciousness of his destiny, he is better set to delve into the nature of the Ultimate Reality than others. This is why, for Iqbal, the progression of egohood is of such prime importance.

It is in order to reach closest to the nature of that Revealation that Iqbāl postulates an about-face transformation, and to relate our social and moral values to those of the early Islām:

فکر صالح در ادب می بایدت　　رجعتے سوئے عرب می بایدت
از چمن زار عجم گل چیدهٔ　　نو بہار هند و ایران دیدهٔ
اندکے از مئے صحرا بجور　　بادهٔ دیرینه از خرما بخور

"You should have a wholesome literature. Transport yourself to Arabia.

"You have culled roses from the mysterious garden of Iran, and have been witness to the springtimes of India and Iran.

"Now taste a little of the heat of the desert, and consume the date wine as in the days of yore".

Like another great mystic, the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani, Iqbāl believes that the *Alam-i-amr* or the world of directive energy, must be traversed before man can claim to have attained objectivity[1]. Hence, in an era humming with all kinds of conflicting hypotheses, with the effort directed at making the intellect of man something understandable in terms of the tangibles, Iqbal still believed that spiritualism is a metaphenomenon that is beyond the acess of sciences like psychology, phrenology, and physiology. He believed :

دلبری بے قاہری جادو گری است

دلبری با قاہری پیغمبری است

"Vision without power is like magic. Vision, combined with power, is prophethood".

And so for Iqbal two absolutes—those of the Ultimate Reality and Islam—became the capstones of his philosophy and poetry. Every human being evolves some sort of an eirenicon. Iqbal, the creative thinker, evolved his own eirenicon, because, for him, with his view of the world and history, that happened to be the most logical eirenicon. But eirenicons can never be easy to achieve ; and, if they are to be transformed from the ideal to the real, superhuman efforts are demanded. Iqbāl has throughout been the sworn adversary of *accidie* and inertia. One cannot equate mere biological reproduction with something creative, if the succeeding generations are even more degenerate. Act for him alone is the yardstick of creation. With such an achievement death and erasure cease to have any meaning. And the man who sets such an achievement as his object is alone worthy of being called a *momin*.

Such a philosophy would not regard the last millenium of the Muslim history as something to be bewailed. Rather, it should become a salutary pointer to us in order to enable as to avoid the pitfalls of the past. There is no reason to regard such a philosophy

1 *Lectures*, pp. 193-94.

as specific to the Muslims only or to leave room for criticism that Iqbal predicated Muslim hegemony.

Nor is Iqbāl an apologist or a rationalisar by any stretch of the imagination. He does not believe that Islam is the only religion of the self-revelation or self-communication of the Absolute Spirit, as Hegel holds Christianity to be. It represents, on the other hand, the utmost zenith of Revelation, that is to say, the highest stage in revelation. Noris he a tendentious logician like Hegel, who from logic moves to the mysteryof religion, in which the death of death involved in the Christian Resurrection and Ascension is a representational expression of the "absolute negativity" of Spirit, the principle that spirit can affirm itself by first denying itself and later denying that denial![1] With Iqbāl it is not the Muslim theology that is more important; his effort is directed at the distillation of the Muslim spirit and the validity of Islam as a way of life. In the contemporary age where religion has either become a mechanism or is faced with forces that are making it progressively weaker, Iqbāl indeed represents a unique phenomenon.

It would therefore be legitimate to claim that Iqbāl is a successor to Jamal-ud-din Afghani on a philosophical plane. Whereas Jamal-ud-din Afghani postulated an all-inclusive unit on a political basis, Iqbāl's attempt directed at the spiritual understanding of the Islamic verities, of making each individual an asset, followed by the assertion of a centripetal force which would later on become centrifugal, making Islam come on its own. It is in this melioristic visualization of the future of Islām that much of Iqbal's greatness reposes.

1 *Philosophy of Religion*, II, p. 300.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF TRADE ASSOCIATIONS IN THE CITY OF KARACHI

by

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Introduction :

The association of producers and those engaged in commerce is not peculiarly a modern development. Its existence can be traced in ancient Egypt, India and in the periods of the Classical antiquity. Their main purpose appears originally to have been social protection rather than self help. If trade associations be defined as "voluntary organisations for mutual protection or advantages of proprietary enterprises producing or distributing similar goods or services[1]", it becomes clear that these are central organizations of mercantile community formed with the objective of protecting trade industry and commerce by exerting collective influence over the State and local authorities, for providing information to the members and for looking after its interest in a dynamic situation and ever increasing uncertainty caused by the rapidly changing public policies and the factors forcing for adjustments in the national economy *vis-a-vis* the changes in the International market.

There is, indeed, a highly significant correlation between economic development of a country, or for that matter of a City, and the growth of trade associations. Trade associations, apart from rendering conventional services to commerce trade and industry, have, in this country, come to assume with the passage of time, an important function of bringing about a close co-operation between the private and the public sectors. Secondly, these associations have been instrumental in the formulation of economic

1 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 22, p. 360.

policy and its implementation. The trade associations point out the practical aspects, repercussions and the deviations from desired social objectives and suggest corrective measures for the attainment of these objectives.

The history of development of trade associations in Karachi is very interesting and informative. If one desires to read the history of our Cities or Social institutions, including trade associations, one may find to his astonishment that there is virtually no literature on the subject in unified form. I must, therefore, confess at the very outset that all the events regarding development of trade associations, which spread over more than a century, cannot be compressed in a paper of this size and therefore it cannot claim to be an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

There are few outstanding landmarks in the history of trade associations in Karachi which may conveniently be divided into different periods. The first was the conquest of Manora by the British forces in 1839. The second was the establishment of British Chamber of Commerce in 1860. The third was the formation of the Karachi Indian Merchants Association in 1902. The fourth was the establishment of Buyers and Shippers Chamber in 1916. The fifth was the organization of Muslim Chamber of Commerce in 1940. Lastly the division of India and the emergence of Pakistan in 1947 with Karachi as its capital which gave stimulation to the growth of trade associations.

Institutions like Chamber of Commerce were in existence in Karachi and other parts of India in a rudimentary form even before the conquest of Manora. They were known as "Mahajans". These were not organized on lines of present day trade associations yet they performed, in principle, services similar to those of modern Chamber of Commerce. The under-developed state of trade associations in Karachi in those days may be attributed to the fact that trade was still in its infancy and its pace of growth slow under the rule of the Mīrs of Sind, as also due to lack of transport facilities and communications in the hinterland of Karachi. The

records of the year 1838 show that "the whole trade at Karachi. was estimated at Rs. 21,46,625",[1] and the most important items of import were China and Bengal Silk, English broad cloth, refined sugar, English cotton yarn, dates, pearls and slaves. Slaves were largely imported from the Persian Gulf at Rs. 82/- to 95/- per head. As against this the items of export were comparatively few and included cotton, grain, bone and hides.

This trade pattern of Karachi continued for one year more and was disturbed as a result of the conquest of Manora by the British forces in 1839. Now the new rulers of Karachi were the employees of the East India Company guided by the Mercantilist philosophy of creating maximum opportunities of profit for industrial capital of England by raising the price level of industrial products and depressing the price level of the agricultural products within the colony. J. B. Say exposed clearly the main theme of the policy in these words "The metropolis can compel the colony to purchase from her everything it may have occasion for; this monopoly . . . enables the producers of the metropolis to make the colonies pay more for the merchandise than it is worth".[2]

As a consequence of this policy, which was followed in India and elsewhere, some big British firms were established in Karachi to monopolize the export trade of the whole North of India. There were some practical difficulties in implementing this policy namely; collection of produce from the hinterland; the distribution of imported products, and the agency through which these functions could be accomplished and the need of adequate transport and communication facilities.

The newly established British firms in Karachi solved the first two problems with the help of Banias, who had the direct link with the village Banias and the pedlars throughout the North West of India, and the last one with the help of Government.

1 *Gazette of the Province of Sind*, compiled by E. H. Aitken, p. 368.

2 *Treatise on Political Economy*, Ed. 1821, Vol. I. p, 322.

The ultimate result of such a deliberate policy was that soon Banias became not only the distributors of imported goods but also the principal agents on behalf of the British firms to collect produce from peasant cultivators and zamindars, who were exploited to the possible extent. Unfortunately the peasant cultivators and Zamindars were mostly Muslims, who were to remain as the victims till partition, and wealth infiltrated into the coffers of Hindus.

The most remarkable impact of the establishment of the big British firms in Karachi was that the trade volume increased tremendously with an accelerated rate. The total volume of trade doubled and rose to Rs. 44,26,000 within five years following the conquest of Manora. As the demand for the raw materials by English industries increased, the big firms of Karachi witnessed expanded business opportunities. Now there were, however, some local problems specially of inadequate transport facilities, communications, the capacity of the port and the lack of an efficient local administration. What was needed for the British firms for solving these problems was a combined force in the shape of an organized body, a Chamber of Commerce. This was established on 26th April, 1860 under the name of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce.

According to brief history of the Chamber, which appears in its annual report for 1906, the founder members were seven in number, comprising McIver and Company, Barclay, Watson and Company, Finlay and Company, T. Lidbetter and Company, J. K. Dunolly and Company and Ashburner, Bell and Company. By the end of the first year of its existence, the membership had increased to thirteen including the firm of Volkert Brothers, which is well known in Karachi even today. Out of the thirteen earliest members two were, it may be noted, local Indian firms, S. Tyabjee and Company and Airdaseer and Company.

The objects and the duties of the Chamber were stated to be "to encourage a friendly feeling and unanimity among Commercial

men on all subjects involving their common good; to promote and protect the general mercantile interest of this province (Sind); to collect and classify informations on all matters of general commercial interest; to obtain the removal, as far as such a Society can, of all acknowledged grievances affecting Merchants as a body, or mercantile interest in general; to receive and decide references on matters of usage and Customs in dispute, recording such decisions for future guidance and by other means to form a code of practices for simplifying and facilitating business; to communicate with the public authorities on all subjects of general mercantile interest and to arbitrate between parties willing to refer to, and abide by, the Chamber".

The first Chairman was D. McIver, whose firm later associated with the Celebrated House of Mackinon, Mackenzie Company. The Secretaryship was first entrusted, in an honorary capacity to R. Bell. Shortly, afterwards succeeded by A. Stewart for whose services the Chamber paid Rs. 75 per mensem perhaps as a token salary. A. N. de Fleuriniont was the first man who held the Secretaryship for four years from 1864 to 1867.

At the outset, the Chamber had no premises of its own and meetings were held at the offices of one or other of the members firms. In 1863, Government granted a plot of land on Wood Street on a lease in perpetuity and the same plot is occupied today by the Karachi Chamber premises. The original building was built out of the funds obtained partly by subscription and partly by loan and on 30th March, 1865; the Chamber Offices were formally opened.

For several years, the financial resources of the Chamber were very slender. It appears that the entrance fee was first fixed at Rs. 50 and the monthly subscription at Rs. 20/-. In 1872 the rules were amended by the provision that any member who contributed to the Chamber's building funds would pay a monthly subscription of only Rs. 10, and again in 1885-86 the subscription was reduced from Rs. 12 to Rs. 6 in the case of subscribers of Rs. 600 to the Building funds.

The Chamber, apart from rendering conventional services to the mercantile community, started taking interest in the problems, which were arresting the commercial growth of the City. The pattern of trade was based on an export schedule consisting of oilseeds, grain, cotton, wool, saltpetre—and of an import schedule of manufactured goods principally cotton piece-goods, metals, silk, refined sugar and so on. Before the country was opened up by adequate communications, produce for export was gathered in districts by local merchants and brought to Karachi for shipment to England or other countries through the European houses, which also distributed imported manufactured products through local merchants in up-country side. At Karachi, cotton was pressed, wool was washed at Lyari, seeds were garbled in the premises of merchants on Mcleod Road. This was the commercial picture of the City at the time of the establishment of the Chamber. The principal problems were, as addressed by the Chamber, to the Governor of Bombay in February 1861, delay in receipt of English mails; the need of stamp office, of a proper Court of Law, the problem of land tenure in Karachi, the excise on Salt and the advantages of Canal to the Indus and development of Karachi harbour.

One of the most important problems was the distribution of mails in Karachi and the rest of Sind. In 1860, the mails from Europe went to Bombay by the overland route, that is to say, via the Suez Isthmus and those intended for Sind and the Punjab were transhiped and forwarded to Karachi by steamers which made the 490 mile journey in three to five days. The Karachi Chamber wanted direct link with Suez and supported their claim by reference to the fact that Karachi would be the terminal point of Indo-European Telegraph, which was then in course of construction. Another problem in the area of communication was that of insufficiency of telegraph lines, which were unable to meet the requirements of business houses. The Chamber approached Samuel Mansfield, who was then Commissioner in Sind. He ordered immediate improvement in telegraph system. Another

important question, that had far reaching effects on Karachi trade and which attracted early attention of the Chamber, was the extension of the railway from Kotri to Multan. The prosperity of Karachi entirely depended upon the cheap transportation from hinterland to the port proper. Before 1877 there was no direct link of railway between Kotri and Multan and therefore the shipment of the Punjab was mainly directed to Calcutta owing to the favourable cheap transportation and prompt deliveries. These two factors were absent if the Indus navigation between Multan and Kotri were to be utilized. In 1877 the first direct railway link was opened and the whole trade was directed to Karachi. The Chamber played a dominating role to get the railway constructed at an early date by the Government. In 1870, there was neither a Harbour Board nor a Port Trust. The former was created in 1879 and the Chamber enjoyed the right of nominating one member. In 1879 the Chamber published Measurement Rules and Tonnage Scale. This brought uniformity in loading. Soon the Kotri-Multan railway link was completed accompanied by the expansion of Karachi harbour. These sweeping changes brought a prosperity unknown in the past Imports and Exports stood at Rs. 7,46,660 and Rs 6,11,10,447 respectively in 1901. As a result of this prosperity, its population, that was 56.753 in 1872 increased to 1,16,663 in 1901 and reached to the peak of 2,44,162 persons in 1921. Another indication of this prosperity was the collection of Income Tax amounting to Rs. 91,466, from 1,056 assessees, in 1916. It rose to Rs. 1,78,778, from 1284 assessees, in 1923.[1]

The Chamber continued to exert its influence for the advancement of Commerce and Trade. After the partition of India and subsequent development of Pakistani firms, it had to adjust itself according to changing circumstances. One interesting thing that, may be mentioned, in passing, is that almost all the Chairmen of the Chamber were Foreigners except Mr. Mirza A. Raza, and

1 The figures are taken from *Gazette of Sind*, compiled by E. H. Aitken 1907, p. 368.

Mr. Habibullah, who held this position for 1957-58 and 1964-65 respectively. Today this Chamber is a Chamber of Foreign firms and represents their interest. This Chamber has 156 members on its roll divided into 'ordinary' and 'Associate Members'. The admission fee is Rs. 1,000 and membership fee Rs. 1,450 for Associate members and Rs. 1,500 for ordinary members. According to Re-organisation of Trade Association Resolution of Ministry of Commerce, dated 18th November, 1958, no Pakistani firm can be a member of this Chamber.

The Indian Merchants Association :

The first serious attempt was made in July, 1902 to establish Karachi Merchants Association. The Association afterwards was re-named and existed up to 1947 as the Karachi Indian Merchants Association. Seth Yusufali Alibhoy Karimjee was the first Chairman of the Association and Seth Ramji Pethabhoy its first Honorary Secretary. The objects of the Associations were "to protect and promote trade, Commerce and Industry of Indians in Karachi and elsewhere" and other useful services to mercantile community. It would be noted that the word "Indians" has special significance and points out to the philosophy and out-look of the promoters. It may be inferred on the basis of this word that there was a general consciousness among the local merchants to have their own association which could foster and protect their interest. It also indicates that the Karachi Chamber of Commerce perhaps failed to meet their requirements, as it was dominated and controlled by foreign firms. Soon it gathered strength and prestige by increased membership, and recognition was accorded to it by the Government. In 1913, the Association obtained the statutory rights of returning two representatives on the Karachi Municipality. In 1925, according to the claim put forth by the Association, the Karachi Port Trust Act was amended to provide for the elected nominees of India Mercantile community and two seats were allotted to the Association. The Association also obtained direct representation on the public bodies such as North

Western Railway Advisory Committee, Indian Cotton Central Committee etc. In 1927 it was deemed necessary in the interest of the trade in general to introduce a uniform contract for the entire trade, including European and Japanese firms, who used to have their separate contracts, and it was at the instance of the Association that a joint committee representing the Association and Chamber of Commerce was set up to regulate cotton trade on equitable lines. This later developed into an independent organization under the name of the Karachi Cotton Association Ltd. The Indian Merchants Association came forward to provide facilities of a clearing House both for ringing out of the transactions and payment of differences. The Association activities were not confined to controlling and regulating the produce trade, it represented various trades and worked for the advancement and protection of the rights and privileges of the mercantile community in general and promotion of cordial relations, amity and unanimity among individual members and various sections of the community. In October, 1933 the Association purchased a plot for Rs. 1,14,750 measuring 4,000, square yards on Nicol Road, and constructed a building at the cost of Rs. 2,01,000. This is now called Aiwan-e-Tijarat, which houses the Chamber of Commerce, & Industry, Karachi.

The Association continued to function and exerted its influence over many spheres of economic activity till the partition of India in 1947. Now the new situation called for a new outlook in the whole structure and the activities of the Association, in the wake of migration of many of its members and arrival of a new ones. The Karachi Indian Merchants Association was renamed as "Pakistan Merchants Association" on 12th February, 1949.

The Buyers and Shippers' Chamber :

To protect the interest generally of trade and commerce and specially of buyers and shippers some prominent merchants conceived the idea of establishing a separate organisztion. The first meeting of the organization was held in the premises of the

firm of Seth Saleh Mohammed Umar Dossal where the idea was given a concrete shape and The Buyers and Shippers' Chamber came into existance on February 16, 1916 with 60 members on its roll. The first elected President of the Chamber was Seth Abdul Rahim Saleh Mohammad. This Chamber had immediately to deal with the problem of the regulation of the charted party contracts of Country Craft, known as "Cutchi Dhora" which had been so vague and undefined that long and protracted litigation had to be carried on in respect of the interpretation of its terms. In the year 1918, the Chamber introduced what was known as the Act, party system of country Craft, according to which very clause of the country Craft contract was defined in a precise and appropriate language that led to uniform interpretation of the clauses of the contract. In 1923, the Chamber successfully concluded settlement of wharfage charges with the Karachi Port Trust. From 1922 to 1941 the Chamber touched upon various problems confronting Commerce and trade in general and to Buyers and Shippers' in particular. Income tax, Sugar marking, Railway, Weight and Measurements, import and export problems are a few to name. The year 1941 was a memorable year for the Chamber for it celebrated its Silver Jubilee on 3rd September, 1941, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Jamshed Nusserwanjee. Among the distinguished guests were Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramasawamy Mudalier, Commerce Member to the Government of India and Pir Ellahi Bakhsh Minister for Education, Sind. This Chamber continued to function upto 22nd August, 1959 when it was merged with the present Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Karachi.

Muslim Chamber of Commerce :

The development of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, the Karachi Indian Merchants Association and The Buyers and Shippers' Chamber took nearly a span of 80 years. They represented the two most powerful business groups—the foreigners and Hindus. It must be admitted that some Muslim businessmen

were members of these trade bodies but they had no say in policy formulation and decision making for they were in minority. This situation was not prevailing only in Karachi but it was the order of the day throughout India and in every walk of life. There were some small Muslim Trade Groups in Karachi and elsewhere. Their efforts were frustrated by a well organized and powerful move of the Hindus, in collaboration with foreign firms, to keep the Muslim businessmen and industrialists from coming upon the scene.

During the early forties, in his usual farsighted approach, Quaid-e-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah sounded a note of warning to the Muslims of India that they should organize themselves as a business community. He exhorted them to start Chambers of Commerce in order to encourage and help the Muslim businessmen and Industrialists. The result was that Muslim Chambers of Commerce were established in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Karachi. In order to look after the interest of Muslim businessmen and Industrialists on all India scale, these Chambers were affiliated to a Federation known as Federation of Indian Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry.

The Muslims of Karachi responded to the call of the leader by establishing "Karachi Muslim Chamber of Commerce" which was located in Sir Abdullah Haroon Building on North Napier Road. After partition this Chamber was renamed as "Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Pakistan". The founder members of Karachi Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry were Mr. G. Allana, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Mr. M. M. Gazdar, Mr. Abdul Khaliq Abdul Razaq and Mr. Abdul Jabbar Ellahie. The first President of this Chamber was Mr. M. H. Gazdar.

The Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry had a hard time to make the voice of the Muslim Businessmen felt in Government cricle. There were, for example, statuory seats provided for business community for the Sind Legislative Assembly, in Karachi Municipality, in Karachi Port Trust and at North Western

Railway. The electoral colleges of these statutory Bodies did not include the members of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in the intitial stages. It was only after a hard constant struggle that recognition was given to the Muslim Chamber of Commerce in the electoral colleges and some of these statutory Bodies. The Muslim Chamber of Commerce continued as such upto 1948. As partition had taken place, and this Chamder was now serving all the business interests in Karachi, the name of the Chamber was changed to The Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Pakistan. Mr. G. Allana was elected as its first Chairman in 1948 and served the Chamber in that capacity until 1951.

Another Chamber of Commerce, which was established in 1948 in Karachi was known as All Pakistan Chamber of Commerce. The most active members of the Chamber were Mr. Waziruddin and Mr. Hashmi. This Chamber was dissolved and merged into the present Chamber of Commerce & Industsy, Karachi on 22nd August, 1959.

Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Karachi

Thus at the end of 1957, there were five major trade Associations working to protect the interest of their members. On 18th November, 1958 the Ministry of Commerce came out with a resolution for re-organization of trade associations in Pakistan. The resolution had principal hypothesis that there had been an unnecessary duplication of trade associations and it could not be disputed. The statement cited that there were one hundred and eighty five trade bodies in Pakistan of one sort or another and added: "It is believed that there are many more bodies whose names are still not known to Government." The inconvenience of this sort of situation was perfectly plain. It was quite unnecessary to have competing institutions in the same town or locality. This statement was welcomed by the business community and office bearers of the existing trade organizations in Karachi. The four Chambers, which had elected four representives earlier to represent their executive committees, were Pakistan Merchants

Association, Buyers and Shippers' Chamber, Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Pakistan and All Pakistan Chamber of Commerce & Industry. A joint meeting of the representatives of the four Chambers was held under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Rangoonwala on 2nd December, 1958. The discussion on the subject of amalgamation of the four Chambers of Commerce continued upto 5th December, 1958. This was the historical day in the long history of trade association in Karachi, for the joint meeting decided to unify the four Chambers. The new name was "Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Karachi". It took over "the rights and responsibilities, assets and liabilities and offices of the four Chambers". This was the first National Unified Chamber of Commerce in Karachi representing the majority of the mercantile community.

In the early period the membership of the Chamber was about 100. It has built itself into a giant organization having over 1,500 members at present. It is to date the leading organization of its kind in the country. The Chamber has also on its roll four Town Associations and twenty seven trade groups representing 1,824 members. This Chamber represents not only Karachi City but also Lasbela, Gwadur and Pasni. Recently an Exhibition Hall has been established within the premises of the Chamber which displays diverse manufactured products of our country to Foreign Trade Delegations who often visit the Chamber. It has been thus utilizing its energy and resources to boost our export trade. The Chamber has a first class Research Department staffed with highly qualified people. It publishes a bi-monthly "Trade Journal" and a weekly "News Bulletin". The Chamber is also conscious of the social responsibility which it owes as a social institution. It has started to play a significant role in the social life of Karachi. Moved by this consideration, the Chamber has given Rs. 20,000 by way of Scholarships to deserving students in various Scientific and Technical subjects and donations amounting to Rs. 60,000 to educational and technical institutions

in the City with a view to accelerate the rate of technological progress.

The Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Pakistan

Before partition there was only one Federation for whole of India. When Pakistan came into existance while there were a few Chambers of Commerce, there was no Federation to look after the interest of the business community on an all Pakistan basis. Mr. G. Allana, who was the President at that time of the Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Pakistan, convened a meeting of the representatives of the various Chambers in the country and some trade Associations with a view to form an all Pakistan Federation. This meeting was held in the Hall of the Karachi Municipal Corporation. All the delegates present expressed the keen desire that a Federation on an all Pakistan basis should be formed. As a result of this the Federation of Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Pakistan, was founded. Mr. G. Allana was elected its President and continued to occupy that position from 1949 to 1956 and Mr. M. A. Jawad was the first elected Honorary General Secretary for a period of 7 years. In 1956 Mr. Rangoonwala was elected as President of the Federation.

The Federation handed over its assets and liabilities to the New Federation known as Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry which came to be constituted under Resolution of 18th November, 1959 by the Ministry of Commerce. The present President of the Federation is Mr. Khalid Waheed.

RCD Chamber

In 1964 the idea was first conceived to form a Chamber of the RCD countries. This idea was hailed as a result of which RCD Chamber of Commerce & Industry came into existance on 21st July, 1964. The present President of the RCD Chamber of Commerce & Industry, is Mr. Latif Jamal.

Conclusion

What I have said is merely a brief outline of the origin and growth of trade associations in Karachi. But the subject is so important that a detailed study would be worth while in the national interest. Since I am addressing a distinguished gathering of eminent historians, scholars and research workers, I do hope that some of them will feel interested in the subject and undertake a comprehensive research in this field. My Chamber and other Chambers, I am sure, will be willing to co-operate by placing at their disposal records and documents relevent to this study.

SOCIAL WELFARE UNDER AKBAR

by

ANSAR ZAHID KHAN, KARACHI

Akbar occupied an important position as a great administrator. He was aware that administrative reforms in themselves would never provide *pāi'gī* (stability) to his dynasty and dominions.[1] Hereto the rulers before Akbar sought to achieve stability through an unrestricted use of autocratic power. 'Blood and iron' were the corner stones of the policy of the Sultans of Delhi.[2] The body polity might suffer from any disorder in any quarter, the standard remedy was sword. When it failed the Sultans were at a loss to find their way out of the morass of difficulties.[3] They grouped and floundered and lost their dominions. This was not the case with Akbar. He knew well the importance of a firm administration but he realised that it was a preventive measure for keeping disorder and strife under control. The stable conditions forcibly established would never become permanent and a part of the normal routine life of the people unless there was an attempt at removing the causes of disorder and strife. Most of these disturbances were due to socio-economic, political and religious friction and conflict between different groups and individuals. Akbar was aware of the social. economic religions and political complications besetting his administration. Here an attempt is made to discuss his various reforms with their social implications

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1 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, Blochman. Introduction.

2 Rulers like Balban and 'Ala al-Dīn Khalji used naked force to establish law and order. See *Tārikh-i-Firozshāhi*, Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 103-13, 187-88.

3 *Ibid* . pp. 254-55. Muḥammad Tughlaq, the most learned of the Sulṭans, was unable to find any other solution.

and their success in solving social problems and removing social evils.

The greatest problem faced by the medieval society in the sub-continent was its bifurcation into two main communities viz.; the Muslims and non-Muslims (mostly Hindus). This division prevaded all walks and aspects of life. It made the Muslim minority extremely security conscious and transformed it into an 'armed camp'. It was afraid to associate non-Muslims with its administration lest it might enable them to overthrow its power. The Hindu society had nurtured an image of itself as the repository of the most sacred, wisest and greatest people on earth. The Muslim victory shatterred this image. Consequently the Hindu society unconsciously compensated its political loss and readjusted its image by projecting and over-emphasising the myth of its religious greatness and superiority while branding the Muslims as 'unclean foreigners' and untouchables. In their daily life they adopted a policy of passive aloofness towards their rulers. These attitudes gradually crystallised and became fixed. Recurring conflicts continuously strengthened them. In this way permanent hostility, hatred and suspicion became the characteristic note of inter-communal relations. Many results flowed from this confrontation. The Muslim rulers forced by recurring Hindu revolts became convinced that it was futile to hope that the Hindus would ever agree to any compromise and share in the defence of the state which was a compulsory duty for all the residents of a Muslim state.[1] This supposition by the Muslim rulers deprived the non-Muslims of their right of option in serving the state or paying for their defence. Consequently *Jiziyah* which could have become operative only after non-Muslims' refusal to enrol themselves for the defence of the state became a levy which was imposed regularly as one of the taxes. Instead of serving as a protective law for non-Muslims requiring an agreement between the Muslim

1 *Vide* 'Alā al-Din's answer to Qazi Mughis of Bayana. According to him keeping zinmis subjected and abused was a religions duty, *Tarīkh-i-Firozshāhi*, p. 184.

state and its non-Muslim subjects by its one sided imposition *Jiziyah* became a derogatory tax. Its realisation contributed much in sustaining communal hostility. Besides this the two communities were so diametrically opposed that evolution of a common social set up was out of question until one of them made fundamental changes in its creed. But their creeds did not bar co-existence. The Muslims were in power. By the time of Suris and Timurids they had overcome their fear—psychosis relating to Hindu majority.[1] The Muslims could not be expected to rule the sub-continent for all times to come. Any time the smouldering resentment of non-Muslims might erupt into a general upheaval. It was time to remove some of their resentment and bring about a reapproachment between the two communities. The Muslims were to benefit from the change in non-Muslim attitude, therefore, the initiative should come from them. But a break from traditional Muslim attitude called for a revolutionary spirit.

Akbar's empire embraced a motley collection of races, castes and creeds. He was aware of the benefits accruing from communal harmony for his dominions.[2] At the same time he was desperately in need of broadening the base of his administration and finding out more loyal troops and nobles. It does not mean that he went out of his way to cultivate good relations with non-Muslims. But when the Raja of Amber offered his daughter in marriage to Akbar, the latter at once recognised the opportunity and concentrated on completing the thaw in Hindu indifference. The time was ripe for some concrete demonstration of Muslim good will towards non-Muslims. They had to be convinced that co-existence and association with the Muslims would not jeopardise their socio-religions structure. Akbar made a sweeping gesture and abolished *Jiziyah* and pilgrim tax (1663-64 A. D).[3]

1 Hindu officers weve employed for the first time on higher posts. Sher Shah also employed them but not on such a large scale.

2 *Ain*, Vol. II., pp. 172-77.

3 *Akbar-nama*, Asiatic Society, Vol. III, p. 296, Badaoni, p. 276.

عامل آں بچند کرور میر سید برطرف ساختند

The remission of the two taxes was not an outright concession to the non-Muslims. It brought in its wake corresponding responsibilities especially in the defence forces. In the sub-continent *Jiziyah* had been levied on individual basis.[1] But it could be levied on community basis as well. *Jiziyah*, however, could not be levied if the non-Muslims came forward to join in the defence of the state. In an age when professional armies had replaced the *Mujāhids*, there was no need for universal compulsory recruitments for the defence of the state.

In this situation contribution in the defence of the state could be in the form of military contingents as determined by agreement between the rulers and their subjects.[2] These contingents might be from the warrior sections of the non-Muslims and if these contingents fulfilled the defence requirements of the state individual levy of *Jiziyah* could be abolished. *Jiziyah* as realised in the sub-cotinent failed to achieve the desired goal of strengthening the defences instead of it its realisation put more strain on the defence forces. A levy which failed to achieve the desired result is bad economics. Akbar could not be a party to it neither he was an idealist who could forego a large income simply for befriending the non-Muslims. As stated earlier stability was the dominant note of all his policies. He abolished *Jiziyah* but at the same time forced his non-Muslim vassal states to contribute fixed number of contingents to the imperial army. This method enabled him to make the vassal states share in the defence of the empire. At the same time it allowed him to keep a regular army at a much lower number. It also enabled Akbar to husband and preserve the Muslim soldiers, as he could no longer draw upon the traditional recruiting grounds of western and central Asia for the Muslim armies of the sub-continent, as these regions then divided into the Ottomon, Ṣafavid and Uzbeg empires left little surplus number of soldiers available who could be attracted to far off sub-continent.

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1 *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgīri*, Urdu, Vol. III, p. 435.

2 *Ibid.*

A large number of loyal troops, attached to the royal dynasty for their position and place in the imperial army and motivated by the traditions of courage and bravery serving as an incentive to deeds of valour and as a check on the Muslim troops, was added to the army. The abolition of *Jiziyah* enabled him to do away with much trouble encountered in its realization and effect economy in his tax establishment. The most important thing about *Jiziyah* was not its abolition. In fact it was not an abolition but realisation in number of soldiers. The most important result was that it also denied non-Muslims the right of option. It is to be conceded that the said option did not exist in practice. The earlier Muslim ruler's imposed *Jiziyah* on their own while Akbar replaced it by a levy of military contingents. The non-Muslims in both the cases had no option. But Akbar's action was more welcome to the non-Muslims as it did away with the hated *Jiziyah*, a sign of social degradation.

The remission of pilgrim tax was also in the same line. A Muslim government had no right to create any obstruction in the performance of the religions rites of its non-Muslim subjects. A tax on maintaining sanitary conditions of pilgrim places could have been justified. In the age of long distances and difficult transportation numbers of pilgrims could not have been very large and the amount realised from them could not have amounted to much. Its abolition brought much needed relaxation in the communal relations at a little cost to the treasury. The loss to treasury was offset by the easing of law and order situation leading to less expenditure on policing.

Akbar utilised the opportunity provided by his Rajput marriages to find strong allies for his dynasty. These non-Muslim relations were enrolled among the *mansabdars* of the empire.[1] In fact, the non-Muslims in general were allowed to seek government jobs. The administration began to reflect to some extent the heterogeneous character of the subjects. As relations of the emperor they found the atmosphere of the court congenial. The

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1 *A'in-i-Akbari*, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, vide list of *mansabdars*.

new nobility was successfully integrated without giving rise to any noticeable conflict. But the marriages remained confined to the royal house only. The Rajputs were ready to give their daughters to the emperors but they were not ready to develop such relations with the Muslim nobles. Moreover, the Rajput marriages of Akbar was a one way traffic. There was no corresponding response from the Muslims.

These marriages brought Akbar loyal allies but at the same time produced a serious legal and religions problems which had far reaching repercussions on the personal life of Akbar and on his religious thinking and policies.

So far Akbar had shown a refreshing creative thinking in handling the communal problem. But he was a Muslim ruler in a state where *Shari'at* was supreme. He was further handicapped by ulema's claim as the sole interpreter of *Shari'at*. Akbar was born in a family which had made religion a hand maid of politics.[1] The family was known for its liberalism and toleration. Marriages with *Shi'a* ladies were frequent.[2] Brought up in such family atmosphere and influenced by the sufistic teachings of 'peace with all' of 'Abd al-Latif Akbar developed a liberal and tolerant mind.[3] But Akbar must have felt the opposite pull for the different beliefs of his parents and at the same time it must have created a mental conflict. He was reported to be keen in finding out the truth about religion.[4] It eventually led him to erect a separate building (*'Ibādat khana*) where he asked the 'ulema of all the Islamic sects to discuss and find out the truth behind all their differences.[5]

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1 Babur had no inhibition to wear Qizibash cap, and recite khutba in the name of Shah Ismā'īl for securing Safavid help. *Babur-nama*, tr., Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 359. See also Khawandamir, Habīb al-Sair, Vol. V, pp. 523-24.

2 Akbar's own mother had Shi'a beliefs.

3 *Akbar-nama*, Vol. III, p. 253 ; Badaoni, *Muntakhab al-Tawarikh*, Asiatic Society, p. 255.

4 He resorted to sufistic meditation and practices, Badaoni, p. 200.

5 The 'Ulemas quarreled. Akbar felt angry and sad at their quarrels. See *Ain*, Vol. III, p. 432; Badaoni, pp. 202-3.

This conflict came to a head with his Rajput marriages. He felt uneasy about the legality of these marriages. As a Muslim, he could not exceed the prescribed number of four wives at a time. and in no case could marry Hindu ladies. He dared not to regard them as slave girls for offending their parents. Moreover, they could not be called slave girls as they were neither purchased nor obtained in war. He put the question to Sheikh 'Abd al-Nabi, the Ṣadar al-Ṣudur. 'Abd al-Nabi was more of a courtier than an incorruptible scholar. In order to please the emperor he stated the prescribed number of four wives as a controversial issue. He cited an obscure scholar who had regarded the prescribed number to be eighteen.[1] The implied suggestion was that the issue being controversial Akbar was not obliged to accept any given opinion. He was free to follow any one of the contend ng opinions.[2] But the emperor was not satisfied and he put the question to 'Abd al-Qādir Badāoni who firmly rejected any misgivings about the accepted number of four wives. Nevertheless he suggested the appointment of Māliki *Qāzis* who regarded *Mutā'* marriages as legal. The implied suggestion was when Akbar's marriages would be referred to them they would recognise them as legal transactions. It would not endanger the right to succession of Akbar's sons, born of Rajput wives. The Maliki *Qazis* were appointed.[3] The episode marked the downfall of 'Abd al-Nabi and other orthodox 'ulema.[4] But Akbar's troubles were not over. Mutā' was not the way to legalise an illegal marriage. It is a regular marriage with a time limit and it is not permissible with non-believers. The only way out was to

1 Badaoni, pp. 207-8.

2 It is an accepted principle of Islamic Fiqh.

3 Badaoni, pp. 208-9.

4 Badaoni (p. 209) described in detail Akbar's rage when he learnt about 'Abd al-Nabī's decietful answer. The authority attributes 'Abd Allah's downfall to this very fact. The dishonesty and bad tactics of 'Abd al Sultanpuri and 'Abd al-Nabi in making Akbar distrustful of orthodox was more important than Akbar's own thinking.

convert his Rajput wives to Islam and than arrange Muta' marriages wiht them. But it also could not absolve him of the charge of having illegal matrimonial relations for which he could only pray for divine forgiveness.

It is not known whether Akbar referred his marriages to the Maliki *Qazis* or not but prince Salim's right of succession was not challenged most probably because there was no Timurid prince left to challenge it.

Akbar's dissatisfaction with the 'ulema gradually spread to the fanatical beliefs held by them, He wanted to circumwent their religions position by claiming himself as *Sultan-i-Ādil* which would allow him to enforce any one of the contending opinions on a given controversial issue (1769 A, D).[1] In the next decade he deviated more and more from orthodox Islam. For him Islam ceased to exist as the only religion and became one of the paths leading to the ultimate Truth.

This quest for harmony was not due only to the fanaticism of the 'ulema but was partly due to Timurd claim of caliphate which would have placed Akbar at par with the Safvid and Ottoman rulers.[2] He regarded himself as divinely endowed with a superhuman intellet which enabled him to understand and solve the problems facing his subjects in the best possible objective manner.[3] The common belief in the approaching end of Islam by the close of Hijri millenium also influenced contemporary attitudes towards it.[4]

The break from orthodoxy became final when he organised a quasi-sufi order with the help of Ab'ul Fazal.[5] This new order

1 *Akbar-nama*, Vol. III, p. 273. Badoni, p. 271.

2 The Safvid were the champions of Shism while Ottoman Turks claimed to be caliphs. Akbar refused to accept the Ottoman claim. See Badaoni; p. 268.

3 *Ain*, III, p. 172.

4 Badaoni, pp. 278, 301. It is interesting to note that Akbar was declared Sahib-i-Zaman or Mehdi.

5 It dealt mainly with metaphysical concepts and had no regulation for improving the social and family life.

called Tawhid-i-Ilahi was a montheistic order and had a number of rites and procedure which in their origin were Islamic.[1] They could not be palatable to Hindus and were disliked as innovation by the Muslims. In fact they were more in the nature of an effort aimed at distinguishing the new order from orthodox Islamic practices.

The Islamic mode of salutations was replaced by new salutations in Arabic emphasising the greatness of God.[2] But it lacked the reciprocal well wishing for safety and peace irrespective of one's place in society which made the traditional salutations a great contributary force to the success of the Islamic principle of equality. The new salutations with the emphasis on the name of *Allāh* could not be popular with the Hindus as well.

Similarly holding the feast of chehlum in one's own life time had no social bearing. It was nothing new but its general compulsory application was new.

Abstinence from flesh in the month of one's birth,[3] on Sundays[4] and once in a year as a mark of thanks giving for the court's safe escape from the flood caused by a breach in the dam at Fatehpur[5] or King's abstinence from killing certain animals in certain months of the year[6] made no appreciable impact on the social welfare of the people. The King himself never became a total vegetarian and neither gave up hunting. These acts were simply motivated by doing something piteous and merciful and should not be construed as aiming at injuring some particular religion as Badoni was wont to think[7]

1 *Ain*, Vol. III, pp. 172-76.

2 They were *Allāh wa Akbar* and *Jallā Jalālahū*, *Ain*, Vol., III, p. 174.

3 *Akbar-nama*, Vol. III, p. 392.

4 *Ibid.* See also Badaoni (p. 303) who thought that it was due to the influence of Hindus and reverence to sun although it was the birthday of the emperor.

5 *Akbar-nama*, Vol. III, pp. 391-2; Badaoni, p. 322.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Badaoni, p. 304.

The initiation ceremany and the *Shast* brought an element of hero worship or king worship.[1] This sentiment was further emphasised by the four grades of *Akhlas* (sincerity). The aim was to provide Akbar with disciples ready to sacrifice their life, property, religion, honour and family for him.[2]

Veneration of the sun and light as represartative of Divine Light made the court atmosphere friendly and congenial to the non-Muslims but created a great resentment among the Muslims.

Akbar's other reforms were social in their outlook. They had no political connotations. Some of them were mere opinions held by the emperor and some were genuine attempts to remove social evils.

He was opposed to indogamy and favoured marriages outside one's family as they provided wider kingship.[3] It recalls to mind Akbar's own Rajput marriages and might be an unconscions effort to justify his own actions. But his own restrictions on the inter-family marriages among the nobles left little option to his nobles. The ruler did not allow them to organise alliances through marriages.

He also opposed marriages with aged ladies and minor girls as it would adversely affect the health of the bridegroom.[4]

Inter-Community marriages were favoured and they could have gone a long way towards communal integration.[5] But the Muslim law forbade such marriages. The Rajputs too were ready to give their daughters to the emperor but they were not willing to cultivate the same relations with Muslim nobles. Consequently this proposal too failed to achieve any result.

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1 *Ain*, Vol. III, p. 174, Badaoni, p. 338.

2 Badaoni, pp. 304-5.

3 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 449.

4 But at times Akbar's reasoning became whimsical and unsound. He opposed the Islamic injunction to wash after consoling with his wife. It was wrong from the point of personal hygiene. See Badaoni, p. 305.

5 *Ain*, Vol. III, p. 448-49.

Akbar's more beneficial reforms related to widow re-marriage and Sati. Widow re-marriage was not banned in Islam but under local influences it began to be looked down upon. Akbar regarded its prohibition in other religions as unjust.

None of the above reforms related to marriages and religion were imposed by force. But the emperor tried to prohibit the use of force for Sati and tried to enforce the ban even on his personal risk[1] It was a great humanitarian reform. It is true that prohibition of force was not enough to eradicate the evil practice and an enlightened public opinion was necessary for its success. Nevertheless, it can not detract one from giving due credit to Akbar.

But Akbar as a whole did nothing to improve the lot of women.

Another evil custom which Akbar tolerated was slavery. He did nothing even to improve the condition of slaves.

Akbar's attempts to remove social evils also show the same obscure pattern

Drug addiction, especially the use of opium, was a royal addiction. Akbar made no attempt to remove this habit from his family and society.

But the most common evil of them was liquor drinking. It embraced people from princes down to the commom man.[2] Akbar ordered establishment of a licensed shop which would sell liquor to addicts on medical prescription. Thorough check up was done to verify a drug addict's genuineness. It is inexplainable why Akbar desisted from total prohibition and tried to do a thing which was not sanctioned by Islamic laws. The success of his efforts may be seen from the fact that inspite of his restrictions he continued to lose his sons and nobles through wine drinking.

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1 Although it was an infringement of the religions freedom of the non-Muslims.

2 He and his sons generally took wine, *Akbar-nama*, Eng. Tr., Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 43.

Strangely enough gambling received no attention from the reform-minded monarch.

The last but not the least of his social reforms related to traffic in women. Dens of immoral traffic in women existed in urban centres while there were tribes who had no qualm to live on the income of their danghters. Akbar tried to control the pernicious influence of such dens on urban life by isolating it. He settled the prostitutes in a locality called *Shaitanpara* far from the capital.[1] He organised a watch to check sneaking visitors to the locality. Every visitor had to have his identity established before entering *Shaitanpura*.[2] The emperor tried to find from the young girls found in the professions the culprits responsible for the plight.[3]

The removal of these persons from the city was certainly conductive to a better moral atmosphere. Akbar recognised prostitution as a neccssary evil and tried to isolate and control its influence. But isolation in one city was neither complete prevention nor a cure. Moreover it again brought him into conflct with Islam's total ban on pernicions activities. In this way Akbar's reforms often disregarded the *sharī'at* were in conflict with them and in such a manner that they were bound to cause resentment among the Muslims which eventnally defeated the very purpose evisaged by the reforms. Moreover, the effort was local and was quite insufficient to influence the great complex problem involving the whole society.

The above discussion shows that Akbar's reforms do not fall into any fixed pattern. His religious refoms did win over the loyalty of the Rajputs. The gulf between Muslims and non-Muslims remained unbridged. But it created a confrontation between Akbar and orthodox Muslims, the majority of the ruling community. Their resentment gradually gave place to indifference and disassociation. The bond of unity between the

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1 Badaoni, pp. 301-2, 309.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

Muslims and their government which was the basis of Muslim supremacy in the sub-continent was dissolved. It spelled the doom not only of the Timurids but also of Muslim rule.

In other fields too the reforms mostly proved abortive. Some of them like State's ownership of a wine shop, interdiction of beef and isolation of prostitution added to the religious hurt among the Muslims. Other refroms viz., relating to marriages were simple platitudes and noble thoughts. They deserve no greater commendation than that they show the noble working of Akbar's mind.

Neverthless with all his drawbacks. Akbar was the first Muslim ruler to think over the vast communal problem of the sub-continent and the cruel social customs and evils facing his times. He was unable to devote much attention to social welfare. His genius was political and administrative. The social reforms were secondary in the great scheme of things to him and remained so.

ROLE OF HISTORY IN THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS[1]

by

KHALID M. ISHAQUE, KARACHI

It is a special feature of the twentieth century leadership, particularly in the developing nations, that when it speaks of National Reconstruction it promises and urges the nation to a future characteristically utopian. The vision of the new order implies not only a socialistic paradise wherein all the worldly pleasures would be provided, but that this paradise would be available without the pre-requisite of moral restraint that the "Islamic Paradise" demands. It is only rarely that this beautiful image is sullied by a tinge of realism. The very frame of this promise seems to convict our historical tradition as being responsible for this paradise having eluded us so far. Here again the voices vary about the identity of the real culprit. Some would like to reject the traditional past, lock stock and barrel, and some only the recent past. A large number of countries in the Middle East, South-East Asia or the Far-East display social phenomenon justifying the above analysis.

2 Another peculiar factor which characterizes the twentieth century thought in the field of national reconstruction is its earth-rootedness. The paradise that the twentieth century leadership promises is entirely within this world, and within the reach of every man, whether he is morally good, bad or indifferent ; it promises a higher standard of living, and whets his desire and demand for all the good things that this world has to offer. This is one basic social objective to which all social effort is

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1 This paper was read at the inaugural Session of the Conference.

directed and which eften provides the sole criterion for judging the value of the responses of the social groups. Religious leadership, in fact leadership of all social groups is characterised as progressive or otherwise in proportion to the vigour with which they accept this objective as the objective of all social efforts.

3 This is not all. In spite of protests, and the lip service paid to the idea of national self-respect there is an unconscious prejudice towards an uncritical acceptance of social norms of the West precisely because they have been more successful in obtaining that higher standard of living there, which is a point of common envy of people of all the developing nations. This feeling of inferiority in relation to the material success in the West puts a premium on the Western mores of solving social problems, as the very success of the West in the economic field is assumed to be the guarantee of the superiority of their social instrumentalities. What could not be overtly accepted in dress, in speech and in social norms, from the west before independence is now openly accepted, on a false assumption of it being an independent and free choice. How terrible is the imperialism which inculcates a false sense of freedom in the slave is an insight, which we, as a nation have yet to fully appreciate.

4 The result of this approach has heen a rejection partial or total of the national tradition, be it the Budhist, the Hindu, the Shintoo or the Islamic. It might well be said that this is an altogether too critical and unsympathetic an approach to the motivation pattern of the modern leadership in the developing countries, and it might be cited in evidence that the modern leadership in Pakistan comes from within the community which has so recently affirmed its faith in Islam by voting for partition of Pakistan from the Indian Sub-Continent. It might also be affirmed with some justification that it is this very leadership which had committed Pakistan constitutionally to the Islamic ideals. It would also be suggested that every effort is made to find solutions of social problems within the framework of Islam. To all this the answer of the critics is that in fact solutions are being imposed

with trappings of Islam and they are not solutions arising out of a truly Islamic tradition.

5 Not enough effort has gone into identifying this so-called truly Islamic tradition. What is considered by the common man or even by the '*Ulema* of Indo-Pak Sub-continent as the Islamic tradition may not necessarily be "the Islamic tradition", and on analysis it often appears that what is in fact being referred to is the tradition of the Muslims of the last 250 years in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent.

6 This era saw the predominance of the British rule in India, and the final exit of the British Government without necessarily implying the exit of the British culture or mores of administration. Islam was officially the law of the land during the Mughul Empire. Yet there was at the local and occasionally even at the central Government's level considerable leeway for application of customary laws. The British Government systematically displaced the Muslim law from the field of *Ma'amilat* and wisely allowed it full operation in the field of individual '*Ibādat.* The result generally was the development of a religious leadership which was confined to looking after whatever Islam was left; and carried on, generally speaking, its *Jehād* in the manner of the *ṣufīs*, inside the soul of the man. Islam for most people thereafter has meant prayers, fasting, Hajj and Zakat on yearly savings, and no more. It is not for a moment being suggested that the moral calibre of the persons who grew up in this tradition was necessarily inferior to that of those who preceded them or who succeeded them or that prayers fasting, Hajj, or Zakat are not the pillars on which Islamic order is found. But the tragedy of both the common men and the learned has been that we, if not officially and consciously, then at least in practice. have confined Islam to religious practices only. On the five pillars of Islam no noble edifice has been built that we could display to the world as show-piece of a truly Islamic social order. The facts remain that with the establishment of the State of Pakistan there arose many practical questions of running the State. The '*Ulema*, nurtured in

the Indo-Pakistan tradition of over two hundred years of foreign imperialism be they the progeny of Aligarh, Deoband or Nadwah had precious little to offer in terms of viable solution of social problems that could convince the majority, whose loyalty to Islam was unquestioned. It is true that the solutions offered were not expressly rejected. But tacit ignoring can be so much more terrible than overt rejection. Therefore, it may be said, that in part those who have stood by the historical Islam of India have partially to blame themselves for the general disregard of the great Islamic tradition.

7 The dichotomy of ideology in Pakistan leadership is even more tragic. The youth of the country is being called towards a new world which they often imagine would be without moral barriers—a world of unlimited pleasure and happiness. This is an approach which promises a paradise which is basically epicurean or hedonistic. The promise of a paradise without moral effort, is too attractive an image to be thrown away, particularly when technological advances lend so much credence to the possibility of such a world ; when the films and the fiction, so freely imported from the West tell us incessantly that there in the West it seems almost within reach. On the other hand, those who offer the country, so-called Islamic solutions, promise nothing but a sombre world without joy or happiness, but requiring only long prayers and longer fasting. In the Islam to which the youth is exposed on each Juma, and that is the only account of Islam they hear regularly, the demands that are made on morality appear unrelated to the problems of the existing social order, and are so unrealistic and utopian that none even can hope to succeed in doing even a fraction of what is demanded.

8 The story of the successes and failures of the muslim nations all over the world present remarkably similar problems. Our efforts at national reconstruction have not proved as fruitful as they could have been, *inter alia* because of a lack of consensus on national objectives. In other words because we have not yet

been able to discover an articulate and effective national consciousness.

9 It might be worthwhile to examine a bit more closely the role that history plays, and can play, in the growth of a national consciousness.

10 One could perhaps deal with the subject at two levels—one purely theoretical and philosophical, and the other in relation to a country and its people. Perhaps correlating of the theoretical element with the recent and not so long a history of Pakistan might provide us some insight into the problems under examination. Pakistan itself was the outcome of a unity and complete identity in a large majority of the Indian Sub-continent of the objective of an Islamic State. In spite of prophecies to the contrary and considerable objections our search for an Islamic homeland fructified even though no one could say in advance what sort of Islamic State we were going to have.

11 The second incident in our national history which has exhibited something like a collective will of the nation was regarding the questian of "Khatam-i-Nabuwat".

12 The third occasion was the war of September 1965, against India. The call on this occasion was for *Jehād* and the response was absolute.

13 In between these three high watermarks of display of a truly national consciousness there have been a large number of excellent social objectives of magnitude of the very first order, and yet our response and performance has been mixed.

14 It appears that though we exhibit very little Islam in our oft repeated failures in our social obligations, particularly those that are directly relatable to our Islamic objectives, yet in periods of crisis we have always responded to a call of Islam, whatever it means to the community at the individual level. The strength of our national consciousness seems to effuse only from its roots in Islam.

15 The apparent disparity in our claim of absolute loyalty to Islam and its ideology, and our every day performance has caused sharp conflict of judgment within the community. Some who judge our loyalty to Islam by our social performance seem to think that in reality it is nothing but a facade for our private ambitions, and insatiable thirst for good things of life. To them this facade must be thrown away to reveal the reality so that the nation could tackle with its problems realistically, adequately and intelligently. Persons who share this assessment are again sub-divided in two groups ; those who would follow the path of the so-called free Western Democracies, and those who prefer the socialistic reforms to be enforced by methods chosen by the Communist nations.

16 The efforts, and the challenge of this secular thinking has caused considerable tensions ; yet one notices a growing sense of frustration in this class against the indifference, the lethargy, and the lukewarm response to plans and projects which appear to this secular leadership plainly rational and desirable. Most of these projects are an Islamic in character i.e. they have been chosen not because they are more akin in tenor and purpose to the ideology of Islam, but because they are tried methods of a twentieth century paradise on Earth. That they have failed to find the magic touch which would make the people realize the urgency of an enthusiastic response is a fact which is often admitted. As a measure of desperation attempts are made to present these plans with Islamic trappings, but with indifferent success.

17 Let us however not fail to note that the success of those who present and stand for the traditional Islam is no better. If the one group offers un-Islamic solutions with Islamic trappings, the other group hardly has a clear grasp of even the problems.

18 Discovering and integrating modern solutions within the frame work of Islamic loyalties and moral priorities seems to be the most fundamental problem of the modern leadership both secular and religious.

19 Islam, therefore, is a problem for both who reject it and those who advance it ; to the former for a different set of reasons than of the latter. Within this framework we shall examine the role of history in growth of national consciousness.

20 What is this history of that we speak of in relation to national consciousness. To some of those who plan and think of national reconstruction the very word 'national consciousness' appears as a meaningless left over of the debunked psychological theories of Jung; all they are interested in is finding viable political institutions and stable economy to which the history of Islam appears totally irrelevant. In the field of constitutional politics one is endlessly told of Eastern despotism as being a special characteristics of Muslim kings after thirty years of the death of the Messenger of Allah. One is often confronted with a question carrying within it a judgment, that Muslim history appears as nothing except unbridled despotism of the kings on the one side, and continuous internecine warfare on the other. What guidance we are asked can such history provide to a modern reformer ? Regarding social and economic problems we are told that Islamic social order whatever justice it brought to the humanity thirteen or fourteen hundred years back, is out of tune with the modern world and its problems. How can Islamic history which represents unqualified permission to acquire property without limits, which permits slavery, which prohibits interest in all forms and which in fact prohibits all modern forms of transacting business, provide a viable solution to the economic problems of an era of socialism. Doubtless this image of Islam is the legacy of foreign political and intellectual imperialism but these ideas are strongly entrenched and before we can answer the larger question of significance of our history in national consciousness we must answer these questions. Do our history books speak in terms that the modern man understands ? Do they speak about matters in which humanity today is interested in ? Do they answer or even attempt to answer the grave objections raised above. Any serious student

of Islam and Muslim history in its larger perspective will find enough material to prove the superficiality and hollowness of the above recounted charges if they are sought to be used for the purpose of decrying Islam. It is true that not all the persons who figure in the panorama of history of Muslim people were angels, but we cannot judge the ideology of a community by the misconduct of some of its members. So long have we suffered the habit of judging Islam by the history of muslims that we have forgotten to judge their performance by the criteria of the *Qur'ān*. The result has been that in the works on history while distributing the emphasis, altogether too much space was given and too prominent a role assigned, to the famous people and their disputes: each historian playing the role of a pleader for one or the other party and sometimes for all ! so that the cynical remark of a historian that history is nothing but the record of the misdeeds of great people fits disconcertingly too often to the histories popular or famous in our times.

21 It is a common human failing to be lured by the new and the bizarre. The sudden flares attract much more attention than the constant lights. The first major schism within the Muslim community, therefore, understandably occupied an altogether excessive space in the first sets of annals of the Muslim people. This unfortunately sets the pattern for the later histories, with the result that for the majority of the lay reader the traditional Muslim histories represent nothing but records of the internecine wars, and despotism of the Sultan and the kings to whom apparently these disputes and womanization were the sole hobby and pre-occupation. One hears from many who should be better informed, that the Islamic system seems to have gone on the rocks, right after the first thirty years and that no truly Islamic State appears, ever to have come into being thereafter except perhaps briefly during the reign of Umar bin 'Abdul 'Aziz. Because the participants in the internecine wars figured so prominently their other hobbies, particularly in the relationship with womenfolk also got an equally prominent notice in early historical works. Nafhut-teeb by

Tilmasani is a typical example. Generally, the muslim historians even of the nineteenth, and twentieth century have been slavishly copying the material, the manner, and the balance in the distribution of emphasis of the older historians. In conception and treatment 'Tarikh-i-Islam' of Shah Moinuddin Nadvi is no different from the older histories except perhaps for the fact that amorous affairs of historical personalities figure less prominently in the recent written histories. 'Tarikh-e-Ummat' of Aslam Jairajpuri, though in name it promises a departure from the beaten path, in substance is no different.

22 According to the *Qur'ān* histories of the people who have preceded us has a moral lesson to convey and the believers are repeatedly called upon to contemplate upon the fate of all the people who have preceded them and particularly those who disregarded the moral norms. According to the *Qur'ān* the ethical principles are as fundamental a law of nature in relation to rise and fall of nations and communities, as perhaps of law of gravitation is in relation to all material bodies. According to the *Qur'ān* the disintegration of a nation and its ultimate extinction are deeply correlated with its response to the moral challenge within the society. According to the *Qur'ān* the availability of vast material resources with a people is not necessarily a sign of God's approval of their conduct. Wade as we might in the vast stream of our histories and biographical dictionaries from even a fairly early period, only rarely do we find clearly brought out, the larger message that the *Qur'ān* had to deliver. According to one critical western scholar of Islam "It seems doubtful whether the Quranic approach had a decisive influence in development of the Muslim historiography." Yet another critic Prof. A. A. Duri of the Baghdad University speaks of the works of the third century stalwarts in history in these words :

> "Al-Baladhuri wrote a history woven around the Arab aristocracy, thus indicating where the emphasis lay, and giving full emphasis to an Arab social idea. His '*Futuh*' expresses a central mission of Islam and meets a juristic and administra-

tive need. Al-Ya'qubi wrote a universal history with a Shi'ite (Ja'fari) thought, and gave pre-Islamic history a religious and cultural significance. Ibn Qutayba thought of secretaries (Kuttab) and their need for a comprehensive historical manual which would represent a synthesis of types-Ayyam, universal history, juristic needs. Al-Dinawari wanted to show the role of Iraq and Persia in his universal history, and found his justification in Sasanid and 'Abbasid times. Al-Tabari wanted history to explain the will of God and to illustrate His revelation."

23 How well Tabari succeeded is however a different matter. The unavoidable assessment is, that most of this historiography, notwithstanding the deep commitment to the *Qur'ān* and its principles, never did succeed in displaying the Quranic themes and principles in a manner befitting the status of the *Qur'ān* as the word of Allāh.

24 To find about the high moral calibre of the Muslim Community of that time, and the great deal of justice and mercy that was made available all round within the community, we discover more material in the books pertaining to the records of the Relators of *Ḥadīthes* material, to the biographical dictionaries and to the books which claim to be histories of certain areas like 'Tarikh-e-Baghdad' and Ibne Assakir's 'Tarikh-e-Damishk' and 'Hulyatal Aulia' of Al-Isphani the like. Perhaps 'Masoodi Marooj-al-Zahab' would also qualify to come within these categories. We have also to look at the contemporary belles lettres and the books on morality, to discover the true magnitude of the revolution brought in by Islam. We have perhaps yet to await the appearance of a Muslim historian who would be able to integrate this vast and variously distributed material to bring out a work which could truly be characterized as the 'History of Muslim People'—one who would be able to show that the variety that the Muslims of all parts of Earth brought to the common stream of Muslim history only added to the beauty of the basic unity of Islam and the Muslims—We await a composition that could show that the

new is not necessarily the enemy of the eternal. Because no new ideas or transfer of power to a new community, can displace the central and everlasting truth of Islam. We await "a correlated statement which would show that the light of Islam was carried forth by millions of common men and women who fired by their faith and their covenant with Allāh performed voluntarily and in an exemplary manner all the social obligations of a welfare state; who never allowed themselves to be led into indifference towards the poor, the needy, the sick and the unprovided by assuming it to be the duty of the government or the Ruler alone. Doing good and commanding good, abstaining from evil and prohibiting it, was every man's business. It was for this reason that despite the ups and downs at the centre of Khilafat, the Muslim community as a whole maintained for over a thousand years the highest standard of welfare not only within the community but for every one who came in contact with them.

25 It has also been asserted and with considerable backing of truth that there can never be an objective history and that each person however independent he might be brings to his writing all the prejudices and norms that constitute his personality. Even if the historian is able to dis-engage himself from the prejudices which are inevitable in the participants in a Historical Drama *inter aliā* because of the distance which is there between his time and the times whose history he has recorded, yet no historian can escape the prejudice implicit in the material on which he bases his historical assessment.

26 Let me illustrate the point: The 'Emergence of Pakistan' on the world map is a recent event and a large number of persons have written about it. The event took place in the full search-light of history and in times when even the smallest detail of what took place was made subject of some record; yet when we read the histories of this event written by the British, the Indian and the Pakistani authors, we find so much difference in evaluation of facts, and factors which went towards making of Pakistan. Even in the Pakistani authors there is a considerable amount of disparity of

the importance that persons or ideas played into the making of Pakistan.

27 Our historical heritage has similarly suffered from the prejudices of the era and the social milieu within which those histories were written. The severe assessment of the Banu-Umayya in the books composed during the 'Abbaside period is a typical example of this phenomena ; the condemnation appears less stringent as we look at the works of persons who composed historical studies in areas which were remote from this centre of the 'Abbaside rule like Andulus and North Africa.

28 Yet another peculiar feature of the compositions of the Muslim historians must also be taken note of. Fairly early the scholars of *Ḥadīth* made a distinction between the criteria applicable to the *Ḥadīth* material and the persons relating it, and those that were applicable to the historical material. It is well known that they were fairly critical of the Relators of *Ḥadīth*, and took serious note of all the good and the bad, the weak and the strong that was relevant to asses their reliability but for purposes of history writing the criteria were less demanding. Example of this phenomenon can be found in the works of two great traditionalists and historians namely Imam Bukhari and al-Zahabi. A number of people whom Imam Bukhari rejects as unreliable, as far as *Ḥadīth* material is concerned, he relates from them in his 'al-Tarikh al-Kabir'. These persons are mentioned in detail in 'Muzihul Auham' by Ibne Khatib-al-Baghdadi and also in the works of Abū Hatim al-Razi. Similar is the case of al-Zahabi who is extremely critical in 'Mizan al-Aaytidal' and is not so critical in his 'Tarikh al-Islam'. The result of this has been that over a period of years great deal of fiction arising out of 'Aqeedat' or 'Nafrat' has entrenched itself in the annals of Muslim history. The same persons are presented in the most favourable light by one group and are depicted as despicable by the other. And in this business of attack and defence the worst victim is the truth. This is particularly true of the controvertial personalities of every era. Abū Ḥanifa may be considered as a typical example. Khatib-e-Baghdadi in his 'History of Baghdād'

relates both the approaches to the personality of Abū Ḥanifa. The first about thirty pages of his notice of Abū Ḥanifa show him as an angelic personality and the next sixty pages show him on authority of his contemporaries of equally great status that he was thought of as a *Kāfir*, a *Zindiq*, a *Mulhid* and what not. Amongst his critics he cites views of people who thought that the only way to reach the truth was to find out what Abū Ḥanifa said about a subject, and the truth would be the contrary thereof. Amongst the critics of Abū Ḥanifa he cites personalities such as Imam Aḥmad Hambal, Imam Auzai, Sufiyan Sauri and many others. All these persons are considered reliable relators of *ḥadīth*, and yet we know that their views have been rejected by the majority of the Muslim community of the world in relation to Abū Ḥanifa who is one of the greatest Jurists that History of Islam has ever known. Such examples can be endlessly multiplied. An unfortunate effect of the schisms about the great personalities has been that those who criticise them paint them in most unedifying colours, and those who praise them, put them on a super human pedestal. The truth again becomes the victim. These personalities, therefore, are often de-humanized and rendered valueless as human heroes worthy of emulation. This sanctification seems to render impossible a critical re-appraisal of the historical material that we have inherited.

29 In fact so oppressed has been the modern generation with the evaluation of events and personalities by the historians of the third and fourth century that history has in some cases come to be considered by the un-informed or by the laymen as part of the religion itself. The unfortunate consequence has been great discouragement of critical evaluation of historical material.

30 It is a truism of human history that the scope of re-examination of the historical past is provided by the complex of the modern problems. It is the existing problems with their relative importance which persuade us to look into the past and to seek guidance from the experience of those that have preceded us. Therefore, the relevant historical writing will not confine itself

merely to discovery of new material which could provide more information about the histories of the bye-gone people though doubtless this process is of fundamental importance in all historical writing. What is, however of equal, if not greater importance is the question of discovering a significant insight from the historical experience which could prove relevant to the modern problems. For instance economic and constitutional problems dominate the modern thought. Only that part of the history of the Muslim people would, therefore, be more meaningful to a modern reader which would provide greater insight into the solution of these problems by our forefathers. It is not enough to cite a few examples of some major legal decisions by 'Umar and 'Ali and some other great Companions. It is important that the whole milieu in which the Islamic Law developed in the first two or three centuries be presented to the reader in its dynamic form. An average book of history hardly does so ; what were the ways and means which were adopted by our predecessors to comply with the Quranic injunction that the wealth should not circulate only among the rich in the community and that the needs of the people should be looked after. We would like our history books to tell us something about this. We would also like to know what social role did ordinary people perform, in making of a society where people wanting to do good could not find persons in need.

31 Doubtless each one of these questions have been attempted to be answered in the works by one specialist or the other but this has all been done in works other than those of standard historical bias. It might be said that I am attempting to lay down a new criteria for history—writing but I would strongly repudiate such a charge because my main thesis is that the *Qur'ān* assigns a place to history in human affairs, and this is a place of significance. The *Qur'ān* also cites history as evidence relevant to the solution of problems of the community. One would like to see the historian and specially the Muslim historian of the twentieth century to bring home to the people, their history in a manner which would fulfil

the role that *Qur'ān* wants it to play in the human affairs. We find scattered in our books of history, belles lettres books on literature and biographies considerable material which could prove most relevant to our constitutional problems like the nature of power exercised by State agencies, the limitation of the powers of State agencies, the role of Judiciary, the nature and scope of taxes, the limits of the executive power and the rest. This is equally true in the economic field and social institutions pertaining to business and the law of sale-purchase of land produce and the finished goods. In relation to agricultural problems we have material on practices of land tenures which could prove meaningful even in today's context. It is true that this type of historical writing will need the net of research to be cast very widely and would require much greater effort than has been made so far, but then in the nature of things if we have to nullify the effect of several centuries of stagnation, then we will have to discharge the debts and the burden of these centuries. That such a movement has already started can be confidently asserted. How much time we would need to surpass our competitors is yet to be seen.

the role that Qur'an wants it to play in the human affairs. We find scattered in our books of history, belles lettres books, on jurisprudence and other genres considerable material which could prove most useful to our contemporary problems like the nature of power exercised by State agencies, the limitation of the powers of State agencies, the role of bureaucracy, the nature and sources of law, the scope of the executive power and the like. This is equally true of contemporary economic and social institutions pertaining to industry and the law of sale purchase of land produce and the allied goods. In relation to agricultural problems we have material on the theory of land tenures which could prove significant even in modern contexts. It is true that this type of historical writing and such materials are scattered in books very widely and would require much greater effort than the need would so far, but there is the urgency of things if we have to nullify the effects of several centuries of stagnation, then we will have to discharge the debts and the burdens of those centuries. This kind of movement has already been set in but only partially started. How much time we should need to surpass our commitments is yet to be seen.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF KARACHI CITY

by

G. ALLANA, KARACHI

When one sets out to write a brief history of the City of Karachi, it might surprise many, who believe that Karachi is only a modern town, brought into being by an accidental event and reared up by some accidents of history. Of course, Karachi is, in a sense, a modern town like Lahore and Dacca, and like them Karachi has also its own ancient history. The existence of the city and its harbour is recorded in books over two thousand years old, only the name of the city has been constantly changing until it has taken on its present spelling, KARACHI. Babylon, for instance, was an important town in olden days, but the teeth of time have eaten away its importance. On the other hand, what is now known as Karachi is an ancient town, but Time, on the contrary, has helped it to grow into a modern and go-ahead city of world-wide importance.

It may be interesting to find as to in which book is recorded the mention of this great city for the first time. Alexander invaded India through the north in 327 B.C., and his conquering armies crossed the Indus above Attock. At a bend of the river Jhelum, about 14 miles form Chilianwala, Alexander's men faced the army of the local King, Porus, and inflicted on him a crushing defeat. Advancing towards the South-east, he reached Amritsar and then proceeded to Beas. It was his ambition to march to the Ganges, but his soldiers, far from their homes, and wearied by long marches, had no heart in any more battles, and Alexander decided to march southwards to Sind, in order to lead his armies back home. He built two cities on his march, namely Alexandria, modern Unch, and Patala, modern Hyderabad. A part of his

army, under the charge of one of his generals, Nearchus, set sail to proceed homewards along the Persian Gulf. This was around 325 B.C.

"Nearchus started from the naval station down the river Indus."[1] reaching the sea in three stages, namely, Stourn, Kaumara and Koreestis. "After weighing anchor from Krokala, a sandy island, they found on their right hand a mountain, which the natives called Eiros: and on their left was a flat island, about level with the sea, and so near the mainland to which it was parallel, that the intervening channel is extremely narrow. Having quite cleared this passage, they came to anchor in a well-sheltered harbour which, Nearchus finding large and commodious, designated as "Alexander's Heven" or "The Port of Alexander". There is an island towards the north of the harbour, about two stades off, which is called Bibants; but the whole district is called Sangada. The island lying towards the sea had formed the harbour".[2]

Arrain continues, "And sailing between two cliffs so near each other that the oars of the ships touched the rocks on both sides, they anchored at Morontobara, having advanced 300 stades. Is it possible to say where the ancient Morontobara was situated? A well-known authority on Sind writes, "Morontobara must have been Karachi harbour".[3]

From the recorded words of Nearchus, Lambrick, a well known authority on Sind, reconstructs a topographical picture, as it must have been in 325 B.C., in which such modern land-marks as Ibrahim Hydari, Ghisri, Clifton, Manora, Shama Pir, Oyster, Rocks, Hab River, Cape Monze, Son Miani, Gadani, Ras or Cape Malan, Gujo, Pir Potho, Nawanar can be conjectured. "It is a curious freak of fortune that the place which receives the fullest description is apparently that which after 2168 years was destined to become the capital of Sind (Karachi)".[4]

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1 Indica by Arrain.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Lambrick, H. T. *Sind.*

4 *Ibid.*

Nearchus in his narrative records that the residents of Morontobara called it in their native tongue "The Women's Harbour, because a woman first ruled over the place". It is strange to note that, even in books written in subsequent periods, there is mention of a woman being the head of the fishing village that is now known as Karachi. "There stood originally at the head of the bar about twenty to twenty-five huts of fishermen. The spot was then called Dirbo. There was also a pool of water close by, which was known by the name of Kulachi Jo Kun—Kun means a deep ditch and Kulachi was the name of a woman, head of the fishermen. Round about it grew tamarind and mangrove trees. This spot was slected and houses were built thereon and everything moveable in Kharakbunder was transferred and everybody removed to Kulachi Jo Goth".[1]

While Nearchus was at this harbour, he was afraid to set sail, as it was the monsoon season, and after waiting for some months, he set sail around October 325 B.C. "Contrary winds detained him for twenty four days in a secure harbour, which he gave the name Alexander's Haven......It is safe to affirm that the haven where Nearchus found shelter was not very far from modern Karachi".[2] This theory is supported by another authority. "The present name of the district in which Karachi is situated, I learn from a native man servant, to be Kukrala, and I have no reason to imagine that the very modern appellation bestowed on the harbour of Khoor Alee (Harbour of Alee) is a bigoted corruption of that word".[3] "The Port of Alexander has been generally held to correspond with Karachi; Eiros being the Ghisri and Clifton hills; the land level with the sea, Keamari; and Bibakta, Manora".[4]

Karachi is within the geographical setting of the prehistoric civilisation of the Indus Valley, which flourished for about a thousand years until about the second millennium B.C. "The culture

1 Memoirs of Seth Naumal, 1723.

2 Smith, Vincent, *The Early History of India.* 1924.

3 Col. Pottinger, H. *Travels in Baluchistan*, 1816.

4 Haig, *Indus Delta Country*, pp. 12-13.

of this people was mainly urban in character, and their Empire was probably ruled from two cities 350 miles apart, each of which covered nearly a square mile of ground......We may thus base our broad estimate of the population of the prehistoric Indus State upon 70,000 souls in the two cities, Harappa and Mohen-Jo Daro......The population of that Empire in the plains would have been about one and three quarter million or nearly ten persons to the square mile on the average".[1] It is obvious that such an Empire, extending as it did to the Arabian Ocean, must have had a sea port, which would be near about what is now known as Karachi. But all records are silent on this point, as also whether the peoples of those prehistoric period did have any maritime trade at all with the outside world.

After Nearchus wrote about "Alexander's Haven", for centuries the spot where Karachi now stands finds no mention, until we come to a period when it is recorded as "Woman's Harbour". However, in 1742 Nadir Shah had sent one of his officers to bring the ships that were being built at Surat port under his orders. This officer, taking delivery of these ships at Surat port, brought them to the port of Karachi, and this is the first time that we come across a mention in books of our city under its present name.[2]

Ever since the European power set up trade and industries in the subcontinent, Sind and its coastline came in for greater and greater attention. Many Englishmen, who were the first visitors to the East, were struck by the similarity between Egypt and Sind, and they had described it as "Young Egypt", forgetting that Sind has a far more ancient civilisation than Egypt. In 1711, Sir Mildleton and Walter Payton, on behalf of the East India Co., visited Debal, a port said to have been near Karachi, and having studied conditions there and communicating the same to President Wilde at Surat, the latter wrote on 11th April 1729 : "Synde soliciteth us to settle a factory there, which we mean to attempt".

1 Lambrick, H. T. *Sind,* Sindhi Adabi Board, Hyderabad, 1964. pp. 70-73.

2 Kalich Beg Mirza, *History of Sind,* Vol. II, p. 149.

The first English factory in Sind, however, came to be established in 1758. In 1799, Nathan Crow received on behalf of the Company from the Mirs of Sind a *Parvana*, dated 26th August 1799, according to which it was agreed to give to the Company "A port of ground into a country house to the English factory and four bighas of ground for a guard outside the fort of Kurrachee given to the resident with exemption from land and tree tax......and it is commanded that they may be delivered to him whenever he may prefer, there being no inhabitant nor claims of possession". Captain Carless in his map of Karachi, dated 1877, has shown "The Ruin of the English factory", to be somewhere between the present Gandhi Gardens and the left bank of the Layri River. This factory, started in 1799, was closed under the orders of the Mirs of Sind in 1800, exactly a year later and, angered at this affront, the Political and Commercial Agent of the Company wrote to the authorities in Bombay "To take Kurrachee or to stop transactions with the part of a season".

On 9th May 1809, N.H. Smith of the Bombay Civil Service was sent to Karachi to negotiate a new treaty with the Mirs. During his stay in Karachi, Smith had a guest in the person of Colonel Henry Pottinger, who later on recorded his observations on Karachi and Sind and Bluchistan in the form of a book. In 1832, the Britiah realisng the importance of the river-route for trade in Sind demanded that the Indus be open to them "subject to fixed duties on condition that no military stores should pass by them and no armed Vessel should enter the Indus". Under the guise of trade, the British were secretly nursing ambitions of setting up their own rule in Sind, and the Mirs were naturally apprehensive of the foreigners. In 1839, British troops attempted to land at Kurrachee under Sir Valiant, and they were challenged by Mussul ben Butcha, who was in charge of guarding Karachi Port on behalf of the Mirs of Sind. Wussul opened fire on the British ship, Wellesley, which was replied to by the British ships and within a short time the foreign invading forces had captured Karachi. "The fort of Manora at the time of the attack had not a single ball

in it that could fit any one of the guns; the whole supply of gunpowder amounted to six Karachi seers (six pounds)".[1] As against this the invading forces were formidable—H.M.S. Wellesley with 74 guns; ships-of-war Constance, Berenice and Eupharates, and a considerable fleet of country boats for the conveyance of stores, ammunitions and horses. The Mirs of Sind, having a traditional outlook in warfare, always believed that if Sind was ever invaded, it would be from the north. They had no naval forces worth the name, and their naval defences were completely neglected. The Killedar, Wasul Ben Butcha, after some vain opposition, hoisted the white flag, seeking for peace, and Karachi came to be occupied by the British on 5th February 1839, a few years before the defeat of the Mirs at Meeanee and Dabo. "What of Manora's fortifications and guns? One of them had no carriage, another which had been fired during the landing of the first division that morning had jumped from its carriage which it had destroyed in its violent struggle for freedom, while the only remaining one had evidently resisted every attemp to make it serviceable and had possitively declined to go off".[2] Two days after the fall of Manora, a treaty was signed between the British and the Mirs of Hyderabad, which said, "The full possession of the fort and town of Karachi shall be this day given up by the aforesaid Governor to the British forces......In consequence of the fulfilment of those terms, the British officers before mentioned agree...... that the persons and property of all inhabitants of the fort and town of Karachi shall be held sacred, and that they shall be at liberty to carry on their business as heretofore......"

Seth Naumul, a big Hindu banker and businessman, has played a big role in the early history of Karachi, being present when the British won the battle of Manora in 1839. He relates that before the battle of Miani, the Mirs had written to three powerful Baluchi Sardars living in Malit that they should not come with their men to Hyderabad, but that they should suddenly pounce on

1 Advani, A. B. *Annexation of Sind.*
2 Rustomji, S. Behram, *Karachi*, p. 9.

the British in Karachi. The three Sardars Jagirdars immediately collected their men and intended to surprise Karachi and the English camp. But desirous that no Mussalman should be injured in the indiscriminate slaughter and carnage that was to follow, they privately informed some of them to withdraw from Karachi as speedily as they could, while they pillaged and plundered the villages adjoining Karachi. The news, however, looked out from the Mussalmans to other resident of the town, and all felt panic-stricken".

Seth Naumul, on returning home, found his own family members in a state of utter panic. He spent a sleepless night. "As soon as it was morning I was mounted and I rode up to the English camp. I called at Captain Preedy's cottage door. A jamadar who slept outside awoke, knocked at the door, and Captain Preedy admitted me inside. I communicated to him all that I had heard how the Hyderabad court had directed the Jokhia, the Karmati and the Numris Burphats, to surprise and attack the English camp to plunder, burn and cut down all English soldiers, and all connected with the British in name or interest, and to spare not even a dog belonging to the British camp. I related to him what consternation the news had spread in the town, and how people were prepared to flee. I informed him how angry all my family were and what they earnestly desired me to do but that I would not send them away until I had previously consulted those with whom I felt myself intimately connected in interest; and I therefore requested him to obtain me the requisite permission to embark my family on board one of the vessels, myself remaining behind with the English soldiers of the camp, their companion in weal or woe. I said it was a moment of great trial, and it required promptitude and courage, the more so as the English force in camp did not exceed 273 or 300 soldiers at the most. Captain Preedy then informed me that it was three days past and no post had arrived from Sir Charles Napier's camp. They know not therefore what transpired after he had left Khairpur, nor where he was".

In the meantime, the British had won a spectacular victory at

Miani and Seth Naumul was informed that the British had conquered Sind. He was summoned by Captain Preedy, with whom he goes on a tour of the city of Karachi. There was panic in the streets, as the two went from place to place. "Other minor arrangments having been attended to, we returned to the Chouri where a proclamation was drawn up declaring Karachi to have become a British town, and myself placed in authority. Copies of the proclamation were placarded on the Chouri walls and at the two gates, the purport thereof being tom-tomed throughcut the town. Confidence was restored and ships and trading firms were re-opened in the town, which again looked busy and full of life. The change of Government was quietly affected without the least damage being done, or a single person being injured. A European sergeant of the regiment was appointed to superintend the soldiers placed at different points and sepoys were directed to guard my house and dwelling place. The officers of the Talpur Government were removed to camp and kept in custody there".

Karachi had now passed on finally into the hand of the British as a military possession. This happened on 17th February 1843.

The condition of the city and the growth of Karachi from the eighteenth century onward is available to us through the writing of some Englishmen that visited it in those days. In 1774, Lt. John Porter, commanding the ship, Dolphin, visited Karachi and wrote : "I entered the harbour between Promonotory, on which the white tomb stands, and the largest of the island between Manora and the Oyster Rock Island, and went upto Crochy Town...... fortified by a slight mud wall and flanked with round towers, and has only two cannons mounted in all, and these so old, and their carriages so crazy. as would render firing of them unsafe". Nathan Crow, on receiving the permission to set up a factory on behalf of the East India Company, visited Currachee and wrote that it is the only sea-port of the country. having a population of ten thousand inhabitants. Describing the port of Currachee, he says that a vessel of more than two hundred tons could not safely enter it. About Mango Pir, Crow writes, "The tutelar God of Currachee is a scaly

monster, with a train of females and dependents, nourished in the muddy revulets which flow from the hot springs near Currachee, called Pir Munga, the name of a saint who formerly resided there".[1] H. Pottinger, recording his impressions of Karachi of 1809, writes that the fortifications of the city are very poor. According to his estimate of the population of Karachi was 13,000, and the revenue of the Port of Karachi was Rs. 1,23,000, and, therefore : "This place is in a progressive state of improvement, a fact attributable solely to the advantage it possesses".[2] Of his impression on a visit to Karachi in 1830, Charles Mason wrote, "Karychee has two gates on the opposite sides of east and west, the principal street or bazar extending from one to the other. Within the walls are well but the water is too saline in taste to be available as a beverage, and the inhabitants supply themselves from pools of rain water without the town. There is a large tank always abounding with water near the gardens on the Tatta road, but the liquid is reputed "sungheen" or heavy, and is seldom used. The bazar of Karychee is narrow in many places covered to exclude heat. It is fairly supplied with shops, and in it are several respectable merchants and bankers". Submitting his report in 1838, Captain Carless wrote, "Like most native cities the space inside his completely filled up with houses and the streets are so narrow that two persons can barely pass each other in the principal thoroughfares".[3] In the same year, Brigadier Valiant wrote, "The harbour is excellent in which vessels may ride all seasons of the year quite safely, and such a port, in my humble opinion, should be retained as long as we have troops in Sind". Describing Karachi, J.B. Neil wrote in 1839, "The town waa exceedingly dirty and the inhabitants numbering according to Potsams 10,000, a squalid-looking set of wretches mostly Hindoos. The houses were mud-built flat roofed with wicker ventilation facing the sea which performed the double duty of wind sail and skylight. The better description of the houses are

1 Crow, N. *Account of the Country of Sind*, 1799.

2 Pottinger, H. *Travels in Baluchistan*, 1916.

3 Capt. Carless, *Memoirs on the Bay, Harbour and Port of Kurrachee*, 1838.

supposed to be in the centre of the town. There are no public buildings.

The suburbs are extensive and where there are several tanpits the stench is horrible. For the preparation of hides Karachi has great celebrity. I have never known any place so generally disliked as Karachi. I only trust for the sake of those who may come after us that it will improve".[1] In the same year, Wilton wrote : "The insufferable stench and malaria which arose from the tampits and from the decomposition of th^ deads carcases heaped around the town would have been, even at that distance, the source of much desease, had it not been for the periodic sea breeze which blew over the country".[2] Rev. I.N. Allen records in 1842 : "The town is poor and dirty to the last degree and a narrow belt of gardens along the dry bed of a river forms the only relief to the eye; all besides is barren.[3] Of all the English travellers and soldiers, the most detailed description of Karachi was given by Richard Burton in his book, Sind Revisited, who wrote of Karachi of 1876 : "On approaching Karachi three of the senses receive fresh impression three organs are affected far more powerfully however than pleasantly, viz, the ear, the nose and the eye...The dark narrow alleys through which nothing bulkier than the jackals can pass with ease boats no common sewer; drainage, if you can so call it, is managed by evaporation; every inhabitant throws away in front of his dwelling what he does not want within, whilst the birds and dogs are the only scavengers".[4] Continuing his description of Karachi, Burton described the main shopping centre of the city in the Cantonment area : "In the small camp their is a huge dirty bazar full of shopkeepers and servants, soldiers and seaboys, ladies of no vertue to speak of, nacked children and yelping curs......crossing the camp in the northward direction towards the

1 Neil, J. B. *Recollections of 4 Yreas Service in the East with 40th Regiment*, 1845.

2 Wilton, J. H. *Scenes in a Soldier's Life*, 1848.

3 Ian Allen, Rev. *Diary of a March Through Sind and Afghanistan*, 1843.

4 Burton Richard, *Sind Revisited*, 1877.

Government Gardens we face through the heart of the settlement (Depot Lines, Commissiariat Lines)......The West End of Karachi, the Staff Lines, where the great men dwell and where His Excellency the Governor or Commissioner holds his little court...... Clifton, a barren rugged rick rising a few feet above the sea level of a wretched desert place close to the sea, and supporting some poor attempts at human habitation, say a dozen villa bungalow, such are the uncomely features of Clifton in the valley of the Indus. The designers of Karachi consider the spending of a week at this watering place no small luxury......Karachi is celebrated for its healthfulness. The sea breeze and heavy dews materially mitigate the fierce temperature......But Karachi......has recurriug crsis of cholera, dysentry and fever......The Sindhi Hindu is parsimonious, lean half-naked wretch, with lace at his command, yet he will live on coarse bread and sugar arrak ; while a Moslem, with a few thousand, would be faring sumptuously and emptying his purse upon silk and satins, horses and dances".[1]

Seth Naumal records in his memoirs that he was called by Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sind, and was told that Karachi was in the dirtiest state possible, and that he wished to introduce the Municipal system. If the people of Karachi accepted to pay a loeal ghee rate of one and a half annas per hunderweight, then the proposed Muncipality would have adequate funds to look after water-supply, health and sanitation of the city. When I went home I called the people together and induced them to agree to the Commissioner's suggestion. Such was the beginning of the Muncipal Corporation of Karachi. Captain Preedy, Revenue Collector, Mr. John McLeod, the last Collector of Custom, and myself formed the first Managing Committee of that body. Daily in the morning we went out to inspect the town and to arrange for its cleanliness".

On 22nd October 1851, a Government notification was issued from Bombay Castle, signed by J.G. Lumsden, Secretary to the Government, reading as follows : "Whereas it is provided by

1 Burton, Richard, *Sind Revisited*, 1877.

Act No.XXVI of 1850, that whenever any application shall be made to the Government for putting the said Act in force in any Town or Suburb, notice thereof shall be given in the Government Gazette of the Presidency or place, and also by proclamation within such Town or Suburb, setting forth the purposes of the application and giving reasonable time for all inhabitants of such Town or Suburb to declare themselves for or against the adoption of the said Act therein for such purposes or any of them; and whereas application has been made to the Government that the said Act No. XXVI of 1850 may be put in force within two Town of Kurrachee. for the purpose of making better provision for making, reparing, cleaning and watching its public streets, roads, drains and tanks and for improving the said Town, and preventing any nuisance arising therein. Notice of the application aforesaid is hereby given, and all inhabitants of the said Town of Kurrachee are hereby informed, that such of them as are minded to declare themselves for or against the adoption of Act No. XXVI of 1850 in the Town of Kurrachee, for the purpose described in the application aforesaid, or any of them, may declare themselves accordingly, before H.B.E. Frere, Esquire, Commissioner in Sind, at any time during the usual office hours, till the 1st of January next".

The citizens of Karachi welcomed the idea of setting up a Municipality, and Sir Bartle Frere appointed the following as Commissioners of the first Muncipal Commission: The Commissioner in Sind Muggun Mukhee

Muncipal Rules were framed and published officially on 1st January 1860, providing for the appointment of a Secretary for the Muncipal Funds on a salary of Rs. 200/- a month. The report of the first year showed an income of Rs. 13,514, and expenditure of Rs. 161/-. The income of the Karachi Muncipality in 1966-1967 was Rs. 8,23,85,000/- and revenue expenditure Rs. 5,13,43,000/-, and capital expenditure Rs. 2,93,43,000/-. The Municipal Commission was raised to the status of Karachi Municipality on 13th April 1853, and its fist year's report shows that the collection of *chungee* amounted to Rs. 5,118/12/6 and from Market Fee to

Rs. 477/9/8 : The report went on to state, "The Commitee beg to to record their satisfaction with the master of the English school, Mahadeo Sastree, and the number of pupils (upwards 70) which is large considering the short time the school has been opened (December last). No income was derived from Sindee and Persian School......The Master, Akhoond Mahommed Hussain, has given satisfaction and he has a considerable number of scholars in Persian, but not many in Sindee. The fee for learning Persian were four annas and for learning Sindee one anna : but as there was little response for learning Sindee it was decided to allow instruction free in Sindee......' that no obstruction might be thrown in the way of all classes".

The report gave the following financial condition of the Karachi Municipality in 1853-1854 :

	Rs.
Total estimated Revenue	11,900
Add balance in hand on 1st May ...	3,000
Grand Total	14,900
Expenditure	10,146

About the water-supply the report records, "If Karachi is to be a large populous city and the emporium of a flourishing trade, which we confidently anticipate at no distant period, so sure will it be necessary to give to her inhabitants a good and abundant supply of water...."

Upto 1869, the Commissioner continued to be the ex-officio President, and thereafter, upto 1884, it was the Collector of Karachi who occupied that position. From 1885 to 1910, Presidents came to be nominated by the Government, and from October 1910 there were to be elected Presidents. The following are some of the land-marks in the history of the old Karachi Muncipal Corporation :—

1846—Board of Conservancy formed

1852—Karachi Municipal Commission appointed

1879—Bombay District Municipal Act applied to Sind

1901—Bombay District Municipal Act III applied to Sind

1910—Right of electing President.

1921—Municipal Franchise lowered and constitution enlarged

1933—Special Act for the Municipal Government of the City of Karachi, raising the Municipality to the dignity of a 'Corporation'.

The following table reveals an astonishing rate of growth for the population of Karachi, particularly after 1947:—

Year	*Population*
1831	13,560
1891	1,05,199
1901	1,15,407
1911	1,59,270
1921	1,16,748
1931	2,47,058
1941	3,59,492
1951	12,26,000
1961	20,44,044.
1968	Over 30,00,000

By 2,000 A.D., I venture to think, the population of Karachi will be about one crore.

The total revenue of the Port of Karachi in 1873-74 under the Port and Pilot Fund Act XII of 1875, was Rs. 46,761, and expenditure Rs. 35,701. In the year 1967, the Karachi Port Trust Budget shows income of Rs. 815.70 lacs, and expenditure of Rs. 793.70 lacs. The foreign and coastwise sea-borne trade of Karachi in 1961 was :—

Exports Rs. 1,759 lakhs. and Imports Rs. 1,426 lakhs. In 1967, it was, Exports 2,29 million tons, imports 6,78 million tons.

A comparison of the total sea-borne trade of the Port of Karachi may be obtained from the following table :—

From a fisherman's Village, Karachi has grown to be one of the leading cities of the world. It continues to march onwards as a city symbolic of modern progress and prosperity.

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1964	Lambrick, H. T.	Sind.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF MILITARY HISTORY OF ISLAM

by

MAJOR GENERAL MUHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN, KARACHI

Jihad

It was carelessness and self-deception on the part of Muslims that threw us into the maelstorm. Too many of us accepted that carelessness at its face value. We were equally deceived by the Muslim nation's self-deception and the idea that in the twentieth century there would be no need to take '*Jihad*' seriously either in study or in action. "It will never happen again", some thought. Yet, it happened at the battlefield of Plassey, 1757, First World War, during the intervening period of two world wars, during and after the partition. We have tried to stop it from happening by ignoring 'it', inspite of warning given by the *Qur'ān* and the *Ḥadith*. We have failed. That should be our lesson. No thinking Muslim could have been surprised at our defeats in the political field and in war.

War is a detestable thing ; but "it may happen that you dislike a thing which is good for you ; and it may happen that you like a thing which is bad for you ; but Allāh knows and you know not." (2 : 216).

".........Let not the disbelievers reckon that they can outdo (the rightous) : they will never render them helpless. Make preparation against them to your utmost in power including steeds (tanks, Air force, missiles etc. of today), and thereby strike terror into Allah's enemy and your enemy, and others whom you know not......" (8 : 59,60) and again "O Prophet ! urge the believers to fight. If there be twenty persevering ones among you, they shall overcome two hundred ; and if there be a hundred among you ;

they shall overcome a thousand of those who disbelieve ; for they are people without understanding". (8 : 65).

History was distorted.

When the West at last succeeded in breaking Muslim powers and founded colonial empires, they set for themselves the task of making the Muslims suffer from inferiority complex by keeping them ignorant of their glorious past by distorting history and presenting the principles of the Islamic policy, and its strategy, and the Islamic Pattern of War as their own.

The West had not to go far to seek the the causes which awakened the Christian world. Innumerable Christian clerics, nobles and knights had spent their lifetime in the Holy land before the discovery of the secret of the invincible weapon—*Jihād*! Once they did find it, they made the best use of it against the Muslims. Men like Raymond Lull (1314 A. D.), began to advocate concentration on peaceful Islamic methods of persuation and 'soft words' than their old methods of coercion in the propagation of Christianity.

He was the earliest European to emphasize oriental studies as an instrument of pacific campaign in which persuasion should replace violence. He himself studied Arabic from an Arab slave. With Raymond, the aggressive crusading spirit was thus turned into a channel of peaceful penetration, converting the Muslim rather than exterminating him.

Ignorance of the most glorious traditions of our past, and lack of research at present, has made us suffer from inferiority complex for the last several centuries. In times of historical crises "the march of history" as Hegel has said, "takes no account of the innocent flower". Peace is maintained by equilibrium of forces and continues just as long this equilibrium exists, whether this state of equilibrium is in itself a good or desirable thing, is open to argument. We may not like it, but "War is the ultimate resource of policy, and every nation must be ready, in the last instance, to protect its vital national interests by force of arms",

It should be noted that stress is laid on 'national interests' and not Isl mic Policy on war, is : "Permission to fight is given to those against wbom war is made—as they have been transgressed—" (22 : 39). "O ye who believe ! be staunch in justice witness for Allah, even though against yourselves, or your parents or your near ones.........(4 : 135)".

On account of the policy and strategy on war of the non-Muslim world, war has been 'a great and persistant factor in world history', and, whatever changes the future may bring, it is at present still in the last resort, the decisive factor in international dealings. When grave difference arises it is, therefore, usually force, or the power to employ it, that decides the question. History is replete with such examples. Since the dawn of history, there seems to be constant struggle and competitions between nations due to fear or for hunger, or for pride. Unfortunately the wars waged by non-Muslim powers have invariably brought newer type of more fierce wars in their wake ; such as, 'V' bombs, atom bombs, Nalapm bombs etc.

Fourteen hundred years have now passed since the word, '*Jihād*' was introduced, explained, illustrated and demonstrated on the battlefields and conference tables by the world's greatest military genius, the Holy Prophet. It was applied as a universal panacea to all the problems of man—historical evolution, no less than physical or metaphysical, or social ills. By this I mean, that it changed the very outlook of strategy, tactics, as well as the policy of war. Thereby, the *Qur'ān* brought the importance of Grand strategy and the study of Military history to the fore.

The war, for the Muslims, was no longer to be a war for the kings, or nobles, or a generalissmo or for lust or revenge. The new policy—the Islamic policy on wars of the future, was to do good whenever and wherever possible ; and to eradicate evil wherever found ! The strategy was, therefore, changed to Grand strategy to mean to look beyond the horizon of battlefields so as to win an everlasting peace ; and not just winning a war on the battlefield. It was and is very unlike the policy which governed

the world wars in the past and, since then, the Cold War conflicts of the future. If the first World War brought the Second World War in its wake, the second World War terminated not by sounding of trumpets, as had been the case hitherto but by blasting of Atom bombs. The introduction of Cold War and its endless conflicts and their most devastating effects, not for an army only, not only for a city, but the atomic era has brought the possible destruction of the entire universe under newly invented strategy *viz.*, 'the pre-emptive strategy'—its 'first strike' and the 'second strike'.

The Muslim world is suffering from inferiority complex at present due to the disasters in the Middle East, in the Far East—nay, everywhere! The object in this paper is to discuss, as a cure, the need for the study of war—through the study of Islamic Military history—by those who do not belong to the fighting forces. The principal points which seem worthy of attention are:

(a) That ignorance is one of the causes of our humiliation in war, only to be cured by knowledge of its nature, and causes;

(b) That it is the duty of those *i.e.*, the civilian leaders who conduct operations of war to prepare themselves by study to bear that heavy responsibility.

(c) If you desire peace, study war—the military history.

Let us first recall the attitude of the Muslims for the last three centuries or so:

(a) There is at present, no standard work on Islamic Military history in the languages we know, such as Urdu, English, Bengali, or Arabic etc.

(b) No volume of permanent value to elucidate the *Quranic* Islamic policy on war, its planning and training for training on the Islamic Pattern of War, Grand strategy, diplomacy, strategy in the field and ideological or guerilla warfare.

(c) No book is handy and non-technically presented on organisation, maintenance and employment of armed forces from

the point of view of use for a statesman or a citizen—because this subject is considered a dry subject and it does concern the professional soldiers only.

(d) History, as taught in the present days, includes an immense variety of subjects, but there is one subject which it has sedulously shunned, and that subject is the defence of our homes, the Islamic ideology and the defence of the Islamic Commonwealth of nations; in spite of the fact that the *Qur'ān* has warned the Muslims that "the believers are brotners and that *Jihād* has been enjoined on them"!

(e) Costly, ill-planned, and ill-conducted enterprises such as the Liberation movement in the Indian subcontinent since the battle of Plassey 1757, and the Arab World since tenth century; hence the debacle in 1967, has lowered the morale of the Muslim masses.

(f) It is admitted that subject of *Jihād* is too vast but it would not be full of complications—if only we would study with care and intelligently the *Qur'ān* and the campaigns fought by the Holy Prophet and his Companions. The heritage left to the Muslims *i.e.*, the *Qur'ān* and the traditions, is as up-to-date as it was fourteen hundred years ago. In support of this statement let me state the names of only few generals; Salahuddin Ayubi, Napoleon Bonaparte, Ata Turk, Mao-Tae-Tung, Sheikh Ibrāhimi of Maghrib and Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan—to cover up the entire period, who benefitted from such study.

(g) In this study, as elsewhere, some difficulty arises over classification of subjects to be taught in the educational institutions. At present subjects are classed in faculties, such as, the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Science.

The question, therefore, arises whether war is an art or a science. History (which is taught in the Faculty of Arts) is both an art and science. I venture to put forward that war—as we know it, is neither the one nor the other. The most learned disquisition which I have encountered on the question states that :

war belongs not to the province of arts and sciences, but to the province of social life. It is a conflict of ideologies and of great interests which is settled by bloodshed, and only in that is it different from others. It would be better, under the modern conditions, instead of comparing it with any art, to liken it to business competition, which is also a conflict of human interests and activities. Here lies the great difference in Modern Wars and wars fought under *Jihād* during the Rāshideen period where there was no conflict of human interests, such as, more trade, raw materials etc. '*Jihād*', being 'to fight in the way of Allāh to do good whenever possible and to eradicate evil wherever found, is free from lust and greed.

It is not pretended that if military history were thoroughly studied, all statesmen would become Abu Bakr, 'Umar, or Khālid, or that every citizen would be competent to set armies in the field—but it is interesting to note that Napolean became a great general due to study the Islamic history which he applied intelligently in the field. It was probably due to it, that Napolean said: "The only right way of learning the science of war is to read and re-read the campaigns of the great captains. If I always appear prepared, it is because before undertaking it I have meditated for long and have foreseen what may occur. It is not genius which reveals to me suddenly and secretly what I have to do in circumstances unexpected by other people; it is reflection, it is meditation". What he meant was recollections of lessons learnt from the study of the Islamic military history. As regards the principles laid down in the *Qur'ān*, Napolean has said: "I hope the time is not far off when I shall be able to unite all the wise and educated men of all countries and establish a uniform regime based on the principles of the *Qur'ān* which alone can lead man to happiness". This is the opinion of the greatest western strategist, the greatest warrior Europe has so far produced!

A man cannot learn his profession without constant study; to prepare especially for the higher ranks, particularly in press button atomic era. When in a post of responsibility, he has no

time to read, and if he comes to such a post—by mere chance, with an empty skull, it is then too late to fill it; Thus, many people fail to distinguish themselves and say 'they are unfortunate', which is untrue, their own previous idleness made them unfit to profit by fortune.

Study of Military History is vital for National Security:

Ibn Khaldun, the great Muslim historian, has repeatedly said more elaborately than other Muslim historians such as, Fārābi, Māwardi, Kaikāūs, Nizāmul Mulk Ṭūsi, Ghazzāli, Ibn Taimiyah about the vital importance of history:

"History is a science whereby we get to know the ways of the ancient, the moral conditions of ages gone by, the teachings of Divine Messengers and the politics and diplomacy of States which have passed away, and with the help of facts thus collected we can choose the path best suited to us.........Man is distinguished from other animals by his power of reflection, his tendency towards association and the need of a controlling authority".

To this Maḥmūd Gāwān Ghazzāli adds: First and foremost, one must forestall consequences in the light of past experiences. We know well that history in its broadest connotation is a guide to future conduct only in the sense that it gives us numerous instances, of numerous causes and effects and leaves us to try and judge the future in the light of the past. No doubt such a judgement can at best be only approximately correct, still there is no other way to have even a dim idea of the future except in the light of the past".

"History is to knowledge in general what politics are to application and action, and the former is necessary compliment to the latter, for the great officers of the State, the ruler, ministers, royal chamberlains, amirs and judges are all admonished to study history in order they may know their position, their rights and duties in the light of the action of their predecessors in title in the past".—Ibn Abi Brahi.

The events since 1917 till 1967 in the Arab land—nay in the Muslim world—illustrate the truth of the above statements especially the Arab-Israel war in 1967.

"Generals have often with preparing for the last war instead of the next"—says Field Marshal Slim—"an easy gibe when their fellow countrymen and their political leaders too frequently have prepared for no war at all. Preparation for war is an expensive, and burdensome business, yet there is one important part of it that costs little study! However changed and strange the new conditions of war may be, not only generals but politicians and ordinary citizens may find there is much to be learned from the past that can be applied to the future and in their search for it that some campaigns have more than others foreshadowed the coming pattern of modern war."

Salahuddin's life sketch is an ideal example for the Muslim youth. The lack of true information on the lines stated above of such leaders and affiliated subjects has naturally paralyzed the mental powers of the Muslim youth. The only redeeming feature of the otherwise disheartening picture is that it has as yet not decided to sell itself body and soul to the materialistic allurements of Capitalism and idealistical Materialism. But for how long?

No wonder, therefore, that: "Read and re-read the life sketch of great soldiers" has been the advice given by Napolean, Clauzwitz, Wavell and Mao Tse Tuug, and President Ayub. The problem now confronting the Muslim world is how to carry out the work of construction in all fields, speedily, satisfactorily to the maximum possible extent, so that its progress may be adjusted to the changed conditions and the requirements of the people and the country.

But there is a natural tendency in every age to consider the lessons of the past as out of date. It is for this reason that many of my (*Rangrut*) friends have remarked that if any energies were not being wasted to write about battles of sword and lance in these days of atomic warfare? It is considered, if one takes the most recent experience as the only guide to follow, without

pausing to weigh the special conditions which have exercised an influence, and unless this tendency to rush to conclusions is tempered by deep reflection and study. It is likely to lead one astray as it did in World Wars I and again in 1939-45 and especially the wars of liberation of China and Algeria, Vietnam and Israel-Arab war 1967 in the recent years.

It is unfortunate that when the above quoted tendency is coupled with the theory that tactics are constantly changing, the student of military art of warfare frequently searches the records of the past to ascertain WHAT HAS BEEN ALTERED ? He thus finds his study of little interest and profit. What is required is to find :

What has not been altered and what are the principles that have stood the test of time! It was this commission which brought untold miseries to the world in World Wars I and II and the downfall of the colonial rule in Asia and Africa.

People were reminded after great sacrifice what the defenders at Calais, Tobruk, Moscow, Stalingrad could achieve for their nations. What was needed at that time was the study of their Military History with unbiased mind, a mind, which has been cultured by deep study and reflection. The Western world had coloured the seige at Acre and the life sketch of King Richard and his advance towards Jerusalem with fiction, and the deeds of Richard have been grossly overrated. Of course. it is most dangerous thing to ignore all experience obtained prior to the introduction of improved arms. It is o'ly by careful study of the development of tactics that the true direction in defence at Calais, Tobruk, Moscow, Stalingrad could be determined. The siege of Acre and later, withdrawal by Salahuddin, was a Master stroke which broke the back of the greatest invasion made by the Christian world against the Muslims in the Middle East. Ibn Khaldūn is mainly empirical and analytical in his method, he therefore lays great stress on the correct reading of history, for if the data before a philosopher is incorrect he is bound to draw wrong conclusions.

The student of history should take proper care of data if he is not to fall into many errors.

What did we learn from the history of wars, in 1939-45 World Wars, again in China, Korea and Algeria? An army must have the power of manœuvre, it should be mobile and should be able to keep itself mobile. The mobile arm should be predominant and if it is possible to administer the mobile arm to the point at which it will decide the battle, victory will be achieved. A General, who neglects his mode of locomotion, is bound to meet a disaster how well he may have made his strategical and tactical plan. Vietnam War, 1964 68, illustrates what the world great powers neglected to learn from military history.

This was Salahuddin's policy. The Sultan maintained a highly mobile cavalry, mainly composed of mounted archers whose tactics were to avoid the physical shock unsupported by fire power, he invariably tried to combine the shock action with fire—in the same manner as tanks, the bombers and missiles are being used today. (In 1967 war Israel followed this strategy of Salahuddin and won the war).

The Crusaders attempted to fight a war that was abnormal and against their own military traditions. They had the tanks (knights) but they bogged these up in the mud and could never use them, just as Hitler could not use his tanks against Stalingrad as they had been bogged in the mud. In the case of Arab-Israel war in 1967, the Arabs dug their tanks in the sand. They, therefore, became immobile and useless as a mobile force, hence the Arabs lost the first round of the war.

It should be remembered that human nature in battle remains a constant factor and its powers of endurance are limited. The Crusaders, never delivered a single decisive counter attack on a large scale with the result that Muslim troops in Acre were left free to repair the damage and to carry out their plans of counter attack freely and in their own time. Although the Crusaders were bitten badly so often by these tactics but they never

learnt how to save themselves from such counter-attacks of the enemy.

The Sultan fully exploited the political dissensions in the enemy camp, *i.e.*, amongst various nobles and rulers and he never divorced strategy and tactics from diplomacy.

Great deeds are impossible without ambition. It is nearest allied to love of glory, which unceasingly prompts us to rescue our name from historical oblivion and with the object in view to accomplish extraordinary achievements. The general undergoes his hardest trials in the days of disaster. He must posses the special gift of being able to bear disappointments even of the bitterest nature to combat such depressing influences of misfortune, he shou d posses greatness of soul and his implicit faith in Allah. A strong mind is not merely capable of strong emotions, but one which preserves its equilibrium when worked upon by the strongest agitation so that, inspite of all inward storms the action of intellect and reason remains as keen as that of the needle of the compass on the tempest tossed ship. These are some of the qualities Salah-uddin demonstrated at the siege of Alexandria, Acre and during the advance of Crusaders towards Jerusalem when he had to demolish forts, cities and destroy even the crops and the wells lest they could be of use to his enemy — such acts can be most damaging to the morale of the locals unless the leader is confident that his men have full faith in his actions and they believe that it is meant for their betterment and security.

Courage of responsibility and nobility of mind are now more necessary to the general than ever before owing to the increasing dimensions of the mobility of the armies armed with atomic warheads which makes it vital for them to adopt very wide dispersion on the battlefield—so the responsibility of direct personal control by the general as in the past, does not exist. In these days of atomic warfare, the field of operations will be far too extensive. Intelligence reports and messages from distant parts of the battlefield may not always be clear, sometimes contradictory and sometime may never reach the general in time

due to mechanical breakdown or other causes. Hence the present day junior leader must act, so to say, often on meagre information which demands greater courage of taking responsibility, clear and quick thinking than was required pre-World Wars—only a strong self conscious mind will thus be equal to the task.

Severe trials purify a well formed character. They teach him to think little of earthly weal and woe, to face dauntlessly the possibility of suffering fresh disaster, to bear blame, though guiltless, and to be indifferent to condemnation by the crowd and to be the displeasure and the hatred of the powerful. Extensive and thorough knowledge may also produce the nobility of mind ! This is rare.

It was the Islamic History which had taught Salahuddin the great importance of generalship. The study of Islamic Military History is, however, more essential today than it was ever before.

The world today is devoid of clear and correct ideas about Islam. Since the failure of Crusades in Asia and again in Europe, misrepresentation through distorted Islamic history, has been rampant for centuries in the West and it requires long and sustained efforts on the part of Muslims to remove it. As a people, their first duty is to put their own houses in order. For they have now reached a stage when they cannot afford to be looked down upon by the nations of the World ; the greater the ESTEEM in which they are held by others, the less the chances are there of being ill-treated by others The Muslims can achieve it by critical study of Islamic Military Science. We can then only prove to the world that Islam was not spread by sword as our enemies state, and that our armies were missionaries to preach goodwill, tolerance of other religions. and to fight in the way of Allah only, since Allah is one for all and has no favourites—the only test should be the natural and fair test of conduct.

Jihad means effort of endeavour. Warfare is only one and that the extremist form of *Jihād*. Our Holy Prophet said : "The greatest *Jihād* is that against a man's own lust", and he also said :

"The ink of the scholar is more holy than the blood of the Martyr."

The term *Jihād* is also applicable to the effort of fantasy towards perfection, to the effort of those who do not fly from pestilence but stay to tend the sick and bury the dead, to active chastity, to patience under persecution—indeed, to every form of human effort which aims at improvement, the defence of right and the redress of wrong—Trade was *Jihād* for the merchants who went forth in tne spirit of *Jihād* as missionaries proud of their honourable dealing, their fidelity of contracts; carrying the truths of *Qur'ān* to every place they visited, even some of the Muslim merchants do today. We give here an excerpt taken from leaflet published by Verona Fathers missions 16, Dawson Place, London W. C. 2: Mohammedans are working hard there to make conversions. Muslim merchants in Nigeria, Sudan, Africa, mostly Housa, are to be found everywhere and wherever there is a Housa community there you have an active cell of Islamization.

It is, therefore, incorrect to limit the meaning of the term to Warfare, much more to warfare of the fanatical religious kind, though every Muslim—indeed every man and woman—worthy of name must be prepared to die, if need be, for the cause which he considers right. So little as *Jihād* in common with the war-aims of that school of patriotism which holds that a man should be prepared to fight and die if need be, for his country, right or wrong that our Prophet plainly said: "He is not of us who sides with his tribe in injustice and he is not of us, who summons others to aid him in aggression, and he is not of us who dies while assisting his tribe in tyranny".—(M. M. Picktahall).

"Military history must be studied", says General Sir George Aston, "because it gives the explanation of many of the great cataclysms which break up the annals of the world into separate epochs, the fighting man has occasionally put the clock forward or back in the most unforeseen fashion. But the cataclysm in history is not so frequently due to the result of mere physical phenomena as to the appearance of some individual human being

of unusual endowments, and here Carlyle was not so very far wrong in his general theory that the decisive marks in the annals of the world are the " Heroes ", as he called them, the outstanding figures of men who left impression on their own times and often on the future also. Take for example, Mohammad I have never yet come across any historian who has made the attempt to prove that the Prophet of Mecca was no more than a logical and inevitable product of intellectual and economic conditions of Arabia in the seventh century after Christ, and that if 'He' had never lived some other Prophet must have arisen to launch the saracens invasion upon the Roman and Persian Empires. There have been many Prophets of fighting sort, from Simon Bar Cochab to the Soudanese Mehdi, but it required a Prophet of very exceptional type to frame a theory of militant religion which should sweep over half the civilised world, from no better base than the deserts of Arabia.

"It is worth while remembering that in the whole of human annals that great peninsula has never again produced a man who has exercised any notable influence outside its limits ; Mohammed was anything but a normal product of his time and race. At the most all the advocate of evolution can plead is that he had an exceptionally lucky chance before him at the moment when the Roman and Persian Empires had just bled each other to a desperate pitch of exhaustion, after a war of twenty years ! But such opportunities had occured before only there was no Mohammad to take advantage of them.

"The founder of Islam was undoubtedly a cataclysmic personage whose career could not have been foretold from any careful consideration of antecedent causes ".

Whenever a military discovery or innovation, in organisation, armament, or tactics, has affected the general course of history, we must investigate and explain it with the same care with which modern historians treat economic and social discoveries and inventions. Otherwise we shall have a lopsided history of the world ; as I fear, is too much the case at present, when there are

scores who study the development of the 'Cold War' or the use of 'atom', for one who tries to make out the true history of the introduction of Atomic weapons in war or the rise of modern standing regular armies through conscription, or through the so called volunteer irregular ones, which may be in the western cities, or in the communes of the Eastern bloc!

That this should be the case seems to me, exceptionally strange, when we are at the end of the greatest World Wars, if it can be called the end, that the world has ever known! The wars that have shaken to pieces that long established anamoly, which has turned about half the population of the World Communist and yet the optimist is deceiving himself and his audience by plausible rhetoric the second world war was inevitable from the First World War! That the cause of liberty and freedom must triumph over the cause of Communist Militarism by disarmaments, atomic control, etc., and so forth.

Let us not deceive ourselves by pretending that the failure was from the first inevitable! More serious heart searching is necessary if we want to stop wars in the future. The directing classes in any nation should have a certain general knowledge of the history of the Art of war, just as they ought also to be instructed in economic or constitutional history. "*What touches all is the business of all*", and it is no more right to hand over the study of military history to professional soldiers alone than it would be to permit no one but lawyers to touch constitutional history. Till some such general knowledge exists it is open to any person, military man or civilian, to 'pontificate' upon one of the necessary functions of the State, without being recognised at once as a crank or socialist by the audience that he is addressing. It is not, therefore, the soldier alone who should know the outlines of the past history of his art.

I know that I am here treading on debatable ground. The perils of amateur strategy, I firmly hold it to be a dangerous doctrine; I am fully aware of the perils of amateur strategy, when a government interferes with or over-rules the decisions of the

force Commander who has been entrusted to carry out a task. I (author) personally suffered from an amateur strategist in power, but I am not the only one, as there are so many, *viz.*, General Sherman, General Fuller, Admiral Fisher, General DeGaulle and many Field Marshals of Hitler's regime! I also admit that military supreme authorities, like other human beings, are fallible. Even Napoleon and later on the Allies supreme command in 1939-44, and the Axis High Command, committed blunders in Algeria and now in Vietnam.

I have also heard a statesman to say "I have handed over charge of our war to the proper professional authority and am, therefore, in no wise responsible for its results," unfortunately it happened to be disastrous to our country Pakistan!

It is therefore, clear that the civil heads of State must contain not only some power, but should take intelligent interest to comment, to criticize, even quash tough they must use it with all discretion and under terrible cousciousness of responsibility. Of course, light hearted interference with details should be deprecated. It is considered criminal. I consider the danger of laying down a rule of strict and rigid non-interference by the civil power is quite as great a risk as the opposite danger of frivolous interferences.

It is absolutely necessary that they should have some knowledge of their own, and not be bound to accept blindfold the orders of their military mentor, as was the case of Kashmir war in 1948. Had those ministers studied the Islamic military history then they would have been put wise by examples. For example, in 629 A. D. Usamah's father had been killed in Mu'tah expedition. To avenge the uncalled for aggression by the Romans the Holy Prophet had planned to send a *lashkar* under the command of Usamah and plans for this expedition were complete at the time that the Holy Prophet fell ill and expired. Abu Bakr's first act was to expedite the despatch of this force to Syria in accordance with the Holy Prophet's behest. This meant sending a *lashkar* of selected soldiers out of his country at a time when the Holy Prophet's death had flung open the door to apostasy, rebellion

and anarchy throughout the length and breadth of the Arabian peninsula and now when even Medina was jeopardised by hostile tribes who were supported by two most powerful kings, the Muslims were like a sheep left without a shepherd to the mercy of the wolves.

Some Abu Bakr's friends—Companions of the Holy Prophet advised the Caliph to abandon the despateh of the expedition, arguing that in such a grave crisis it was little short of folly to send the flower of Muslim youth and leaders, like 'Umar out of the country. Abu Bakr's prompt reply was: " Who am I to withhold the army or change its structure that the Holy Prophet had ordained to proceed? Come what may, let Medina stand or fall, the Caliphate live or perish, the Holy Prophet's commands must be carried out".

This was a most wise decision, politically and strategically, which came from a soldier—statesman who had not only studied the art of war but he was a war veteran who stood like a rock against the advice of famous Companions like 'Umar and the public opinion. It is absolutely necessary that the leaders should have some knowledge of their own and not be bound to accept blindfold, the orders—or advice of their military mentor.

The perils of 'amature strategy' have been sufficiently insisted upon of late by a good many professional pens. And it has been laid down that on the declaration of war, a prime minister should simply state to the recognised military authority—the Chief of General Staff or Commander-in-Chief, or whoever it may be in different countries—what are the political ends which he wishes to obtain, and then wash his hands of the whole matter, and make no comment, criticism, or interference on what that military authority may do. His duty, in this view, is merely to supply as many men and as much money and munitions as the soldier may ask for. Now this, I hold to be dangerous doctrine. This is also contrary to our Islamic Traditions. I am similarly fully aware of the perils of amateur strategy, when a Government tries to interfere with or overrules the decisions of the military

authority to whom it has been given responsibility, One need only think of certain conflicts in our own national history in years 1948 and 1949.

But military supreme authorities, like other human beings, are fallible. Take obvious instances of the two world wars. In the First World War, the French Government (in 1914) by blindly trusting her professional advisers at the outbreak of this Great War, adopted their famous 'Plan No. 17'. This was a deplorable document. Within a month, the French invasion-scheme had miscarried hopelessly, and the German armies were within thirty miles of Paris. It happened again in 1939 when the French relied too much on Maginot Line. It is obvious that no minister can say to his country. I handed over the charge of our war to the proper professional authority, am therefore in no wise responsible for its results'. It is clear that the civil head of the State—in case of Pakistan, the President, must retain some power to comment, to criticise, even to quash—though they must use it with all discretion, and under terrible consciousness of responsibility. For example, the demotion of Khalid b. Walid from Commander-in-Chief to that of a subordinate cavalry leader, after the incident when he pursued General Toma, the Governor of Damascus, because Khalid unnecessarily exposed his men to danger. Similarly Caliph 'Umar dismissed the Victor of Qadisiyah for neglect of duty. Abu Bakr replaced Khālid with Abu Obaidah as the latter was found lacking in strategic planning and execution against the Roman Army.

Light-hearted interference with details is, of course, criminal: the countermanding of part of the arrangements of a commander-in-chief, while the rest are allowed to stand, is quite as bad. The Force commander may find himself committed to a scheme and then deprived of the plan and the resources with which he was intending to carry it out; or he may have a new objective pointed out to him, which is not identical with one on which he started or had planned.

Nevertheless, I think that the danger of laying down a rule of strict and rigid non-interference by the civil power is quite as great a risk as the opposite danger. The head of the State must retain not only the right to supersede a commander whose work has obviously failed, but the right to submit criticisms and suggestions even when his achievements are, on the whole, satisfactory. The better acquainted with the rules of war the Minister may be, the less will he be tempted to interfere without necessity, and the less unreasonable should his suggestions prove. In fact, fundamentally, I support our tradition that a Supreme War Council, kept in touch with the commander in the field, as was the case during, for example, Caliph 'Umar's regime, provided that this council is composed of the best instructed and most capable persons—which was the case, as this council was presided over by Haḍrat 'Ali, who had noted companions as his councellors. But interference, amounting to absolute negation of the commander's schemes, conducted by individuals not thoroughly versed in the practical affairs of war, is obviously deletarious. But the remedy is not military authoritarianism—since generals are no more infallible than ministers ; and looking down the record of the ages we may conclude that each class has had only too much occasion to rail at the other and neither should claim ominiscience, infallibility, or omnipotence.

Again it should be noted that too much reliance on Western Pattern of war is injurious, as it is alien to our ideology.

The West has made not appreciable progress in its understanding of Islam during the last several hundred years. It is very strange, although many writers from West had drawn the attention of their readers, such as, the Reader's Digest in June 1955 stated:—

'One of the strangest facts of today's world is that Islam, a *din* (religion) which in many ways is almost identical with Christianity and Judaism, should be so poorly understood in America and Europe. Since there are 350 Million Muslims in the world, and since they control many strategic areas of the earth, it is essential that we understand them better'.

Muslims are fortunate in possessing a Holy Book which is the original text as was revealed to the Holy Prophet. Moreover the *Qur'ān* is not a book of sermons, although it embraces many hints bearing on preaching and partaking of the nature of Advice. Principally Islam does not believe in the domain of social reform or of spiritual and intellectual education, in issuing orders and prohibitions. 'Thou shalt' and 'thou shalt not', have according to Islam, no value in bettering the condition of man. It is the 'conduct' with which a Muslim is tested. Islam permits no priesthood. The Western diplomacy went astray in the twentieth century when they tried to back the last Ottoman Caliph and his henchman Sheikh-ul-Islam against Ata-Turk. No wonder they lost the war but also the sympathies and co-operation of the Muslim world for over a decade! Thus, if nations of the West or the Eastern Bloc, by economic or political moves were to alienate the Muslim world, or were to permit economic ruin there, I would expect many Muslims to back the communist bloc as they did in the struggle of Red China against the Kuomintang Government and their powerful Western allies *e.g.*, U.S.A. and other western countries been more thoughtful, the history would have been written differently. The facts cannot be hidden. What happened inside Red China in 1948-49 though it went unnoticed at that time by the World who was bewildered at the results, was in fact just the repetition of what had occured in Russia during Lenin's time, when Russia was hard pressed by the Western powers after their victory in Word War I. It was with the help of the Muslims of Turkistan, known as "the Heart-land of the World", who let loose the stranglehold which had brought the Russian communist to their knees. Hence the creation of the Muslim Republics inside U.S.S.R. It was again the Muslims of Chinese Turkistan and the Muslims of the U.S.S.R., that turned the scales against Kuomintang Government under Chiang Kai-Shek and their Western allies. The history had only repeated itself though the West has not yet taken due notice of it or had not fully realised its full value.

What is the situation to-day?

The Godless nations have one united policy, political, economical and strategical. Can the God-fearing people claim this situation?

One cannot help saying this of the nations of the Western bloc (professing God-fearing) and yet they are very far from the ideals they are supposed to uphold.

What next?

"National strategy is both a redoubtable and sophisticated agent of policy. It deals in hard but complicated choices. It sets the direction of national efforts, marshals national resources and plans operations necessary for the attainment of national political objectives. Its formulation is based on estimates of the international situations", is the definition given in "A Forward Strategy for America" which adds, "the exercise of economic power as an arm of strategy is as well established a practice of state-craft as the employment of military force". A pertinent question which is being asked by the Muslim countries is "whether the attitude of U. S. A. towards under-developed (Muslim) countries is not ambiguous! There may be a number of reasons, and doubts about their nationalistic policies which may conflict with U. S. A. interest etc. The Western nations should be realistic about adjusting positions and policies. An alliancc of the "peoples of the book," if it is to be effective requires also psychological, social, ideological and cultural under pinning under bold and dynamic leadership which can come from the Western Bloc. The U. S. A. can remove this dilemma!

The remedy lies in studying the *Qur'ān* and the *Ḥadith*. By reading these we will be distinguished, without it, abilities are of little use. Patriotism is not enough and we must learn or perish. The debacle of Arab-Israel wars of 1948-58, June, 1967, illustrate our point. The study of military history must bring out the contrast between the characteristic of modern international wars and such cold war conflicts, *viz.*, Indo-China, 1950-1968. I think

that due to neglect the study of it sponsored or encouraged by the colonial rulers, *viz.*, to allow people to forget the value of *Jihād* or the nature of war, or to allow them to give up armies, navies and Air Force, is an ideal in which a nation cannot indulge without suffering serious consequences. The study of war must be more comprehensive, and must include, military history, the economic element, the psychological and ideological element, which play so considerable a part in modern war. The Algerian war and now war in Vietnam has proved without any element of doubt, that psychological and ideological training has played a most vital role in these wars and continues to do so. The Arabs in the Middle East omitted to learn a lesson, hence they met a disaster.

During the intervening period of the Holy Prophet, his Companions—and our own, there have been many worthy people, including no small number of historians, who have never arrived at any clearer notion of the meaning of military operations than that they involve many loud and discordant sounds, abhorrent to the civilian's ear, and are attended by a lamentable loss of human life. Thus felt many a cloistered western chroniclers, of the middle ages and thus, too, many a writer of more modern times, who strove to justify his personal dislike for, or ignorance of military things—especially on war, the Islamic Policy, grand strategy, diplomacy and the Islamic Pattern of War, by deprecia-ting their importance and significance in world history; hence the debacle of Western Powers in China (1946-49,) in Algeria and now in Vietnam. One may trace several separate strands of prejudice in the mentality of those who decried military history—especially the Islamic Military history. One was mere reaction against what they called the 'drum and trumpet' history of their predecessors—the Crusades. The democrat, who has gone to the opposite extreme of wisdom, and has determined that, history is the history of peoples, as opposed to the personal adventures of kings and statesmen, is prona to decry the influence of individuals on the long tale of centuries.

Historian T. Archer and Kingsford has stated: "..........This feud between the new man and old, the strangers and the foreigners, is but faintly reflected in the pages of William of Tyre; for his is as purely court history as is that of his contemporary Robert de-Monte, who dedicating his work to Henry II, barely mentions the quarrels between the King and Becket. But on turning from William to his continuator Ernoul, we see the truth at once, we feel that we are no longer reading sober pages of William of Tyre; we become dimly conscious that the greatest of all historians that the world had seen since Tacitus; who was as great in action as he was great in thought, is himself but the spokesman of a political party, an historian whose presentation, as distinct from the facts themselves, is little more to be trusted than would have been a history of North's ministry from the hands of Burke, or a life of Pitt from the pen of Fox".

It would not be out of place to state: On Monday, 27 July 1959, Mr. Cummings "advised Sir Vincent Churchill not to distort history especially when the actors of the drama are still alive and memories are fresh." It seems, therefore, that there are persons of even great repute who are bold enough to change historical facts to suit their purpose. No wonder therefore George Samtayana has advised "History is always written wrong, and so always needs to be re-written". However, the view of the Muslim historians is different. For Muslims, in their uncompromising attitude with evil in any form, there is no exception even in the most trying conditions of war, as the *Qur'ān* says, "And let not the enmity of a people incite you not to act equitably. Act equitably, that is nearest to piety". (5 : 8). One finds the truth in historian Santayana's statement when one studies the official or non-official history of world wars written by the British, the Americans, the Russians and the Germans, who play different tunes, though they tried to describe the war of same period, of the same battlefronts. One, therefore, should read between the lines to arrive at a sane conclusion to draw a lesson.

Fortunately for the Muslims the wars of the Holy Prophet, for instance, are stated in the *Qur'ān* which is, unlike the Bible,

between the Arabs and Israel and their men were more keen on agriculture than fighting a war. Again to mislead the Arabs through the Press he invited the press representatives to meet the troops at the sea beaches in the afternoon. While in the same evening after dark all armed forces moved to their battle position to attack the Arabs at dawn under the "pre-emptive" strategy. The war was over within few hours. Israel's victory portrays the value of studying the experience of others through the study of history, both their successes and their failures.

Leo has also recommended two ancient tricks which are in vogue even today. The first is that of addressing treasonable letters to officers in the enemy's camp and contriving that at least some such letters should fall into the hands of the Commander-in-Chief of the enemy, in order that he may be made suspicious of his own lieutenants. The second trick is that of letting intelligence ooz to the effect that some persons in hostile country is secretly, friendly and adding plausibility to the rumour by sparing his house, and estates, when raids are going on in that area.

Sending parliamentarians to the enemy on some trivial excuse, without any real object except of spring out the numbers and intentions of hostile forces. This is also what Israel did. The U.S.A. emissary was talking of negotiations for peace and advising U.A.R. not to fire the first shot, while these emissaries were aware that the Israeli forces had already commenced their night march for an attack at dawn. This is what King Richard did in 1191 while his emissary was negotiating for peace with Salahuddin and asking fruits and medicines for 'sick Richard', the King was attacking Acre.

Military history must be studied because it gives the explanations of many of the great cataclysms which break up the annals of the world into separate epochs—making campaigns and engagements, whose result has changed the whole trend of natural development in a section of the world, yet whose event could not have been foretold from any mere study of constitutions. The fighting has occasionally put the clock forward or back in the

most unforseen fashion ; for example the final outcome of the wars of the French Revolution was quite uncertain till the appearance of Bonaparte. No one foretold what Hitler would do for his Fatherland. Again Mao-Tse-Tung and Ho Chi Minh are keeping the world guessing—what next ?

Whenever a military discovery or innovation, in organisation, armament, or tactics, has affected the general course of history, we must investigate and explain it with the same care with which modern historians treat economic and social discoveries and invasions. Otherwise, we shall have a lopsided history of the world ; as I fear, is the case at present, when there are scores who study the development of the 'Cold War' or the use of 'atom' ; for one who tries to make out the true history of the introduction of Atomic weapons in war, or the rise of modern standing regular armies through conscription, or through the so called volunteer irregular ones, which may be in the western cities or in the communes of the Eastern bloc.

That this should be the case seems to me, exceptionally strange, when we are at the end of the greatest World Wars, if it can be called the end, that the world has ever known ! The wars that have shaken to pieces that long established analogy which has turned about half the population of the World Communistic and yet the optimist is deceiving himself and his audience by plausible rhetoric—the Second World War was inevitable from the First World War : That the cause of liberty and freedom must triumph over the cause of Communist. Militarism by disarmaments, atomic control, etc., and so forth.

Let us not deceive ourselves by pretending that the failure was from the first inevitable ! More serious heart-searching is necessary if we want to stop wars in the future. The directing classes in any nation should have a certain general knowledge of the history of the Art-of-War, just as they ought also to be instructed in economic or constitutional history. "No nation can ever renounce the struggle for the cause of God—*Jihad*—without

suffering ignominy and humiliation dispensed to them". (Caliph Abū Bakr).

Balance of Power as a warning written on the wall:

The phrase "Balance of Power" has a long association not only with the horrors of war but also with the deliberate plotting of cold war, economic and hot war. So far the Balance of Power has fundamentally been misused for national and social liberty by few Western powers. Such outlook is mere selfishness and has no humanitarian aim. Time has come to change this dread to harmonious relations which are dignified by the name of international friendship—if that is not possible then only by the God-fearing nations i. e, the people of the book! Such harmonious relations are not possible unless problems such as, E. C. M., coloured labour, coloured settlements are not justly solved.

Neutrals—a deception.

"It may be that Allah will make friendship between you and those with whom you are at enmity; Allah is Powerful and Allah is Protecting (Forgiving), Merciful". (Al-Mumtaḥinah)—60 : 7, 8.

"Allah forbids you not concerning those who did not fight against you on account of Faith and did not drive you out of your homes that you should deal with them in kindness and justice : Verily Allah loves the just".

Enemies "Allah only forbids you to have friendly relations with those who fight against you for Faith and drive you out of your homes and help others drive you out; and as for those who be-friend them, such are the transgressors. (60 : 9) The *Qur'ān.*

The *Qur'ān* has, therefore, told us how to move in the field of diplomacy with friends and non-Muslims and enemies Let us face the facts squarely and fairly. The other secret of success of Salahuddin's diplomacy and statesmanship was, that he invariably invited all warriors of his army on his dining table irrespective of the fact whether they were Muslims or non-Muslims, Negroes

Egyptians, Sudanese, Syrians, Arabs, Iraqis, Persians, Turks, etc., Similarly the promotion in rank in his army and navy went by merit only and not only by birth or colour.

Finally it seems unnecessary to point out the fact that organisation, training and discipline confer vast advantages on the armed forces in attainment of their object, when moral qualities are founded on discipline, its influence is very considerable. Discipline, in fact, is a union of very different qualities, such as, mental and physical, each of which is an important element. War, in the future, being war of civilian masses, as well as, the armed forces, its cohesion, and its suppleness. It means increased strength, firmness and flexibility and smooth running, or in other words, it means the most efficient and effective combination of its many and various and varied parts towards a common end.

However, for those who desire to ascertain the mainsprings of successes in wars achieved by the Muslim armies, must look deeper than physical causes only. No great deed have ever been performed by armed forces than in love of Islam. They are, however, very conservative in their outlook. Their system of education has not advanced with the time. They know next to nothing of the Islamic History and what the West has to offer to the World of today.

Between these two extremes is the most important section of the Muslim youth, which when it turns for guidance in the matter of the common sense ideals of Islam finds that neither of two sections has anything satisfactory to offer to it in its research, especially in the Military History of Islam. Because neither Mr. Muslim nor the 'Ulema tells him that it was through *Jihād* and his missionary life that Islam made most noticeable progress. How did the Muslims of the early period successfully obey the *Quranic* command of: "No coercion in the matter of religion". —(*Lā Ikrah fi din* ?)

The answer to our minds lie in finding out as to what were the causes that made the Muslims the masters of the World at one time. The answer to this question is easier now in 1968 than it

now practically based their civilization on material values. This is a question which demands much thought. It demands the chalking out of *via mediea* for bringing people of different religions to a better understanding. It is a clarion call for study of history.

To realize the necessity of cooperation between the different religions and not to consider a means of achieving this object, would mean to leave the question unsolved. History is a witness that these great U. N. O. charters come to nothing, because of the armed hostility of the proteges themselves. "Unto you your religion, and unto me the mine".—The *Qur'ān* IX.

Communism and Islam :

It is wondered how many in the West realize that, superficially there is a similarity between Communism and Islam, which is opposed to the accumulation of wealth. But fundamentally, there is a divergence between the two. Islam is theistic and individualistic ; Communism is atheistic and disregards the personality or rights of the individual. Clearly Muslims would not be willing to sacrifice their ideology of the essence of their freedom.

Now let us see what Hitti has said in the History of the Arabs :—"Because of the richness of crusaders in picturesque and romantic incidents, their historical importance has been somewhat exaggerated. For the accident, they meant much more than for the orient. Their civilizing influence was artistic, industrial and commercial rather than scientific and literary. In Syria, (most f the present Palestine, Sinai, Syria, Jordan, Israel) they left in r wake havoc and ruin.........Throughout the East they athed a legacy of ill-will between Muslims and Christian not yet been forgotton."

